
**Apostolic Evangelism as seen in the activities
of Saint Cyril's and Saint Methodios' disciples
and evangelists and its ecclesiological implications
for yesterday and today***

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THE MORE I READ AND REFLECT ON THE NINTH CENTURY A.D. Cyrillo-Methodian mission to the Slavs, the more convinced I become about the fact that it constitutes the second greatest event in the history of the holy Eastern Orthodox Church. The first greatest event was the movement of the gospel from Jerusalem into the Greco-Roman world, which really marked the foundation and first growth of the Christian Church. I am referring, of course, to the mission of the holy apostles of Christ and especially of Saint Paul, who, not only preached the gospel to the Hellenistic world, but also founded many churches in this context, establishing them on firm foundations through their ministry, which they entrusted to worthy successors, the holy Fathers.

The ninth century movement of the gospel from the Hellenic Byzantine world into the world of the Slavs, through the activities of the Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios and of their Slav-Bulgarian disciples and saints, is of the same order and significance as the former, because a powerful family of peoples entered into the history of salvation and widened

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the strength and perspectives of the Christian Church. According to the late professor and distinguished Byzantinologist B. N. Tatakis of the University of Thessalonike "the ninth century A. D. was perhaps the brightest in the whole history of Eastern Christianity during Byzantine times, primarily because of the conversion of the Slavs through the missionary work of the Thessalonian brothers Constantine/Cyril and Methodios."¹

It is certainly true that there are dissimilarities between the first growth of the Church from a Jewish-Hellenistic Christian context into a Greco-Roman one, and the ninth century growth from a Greco-Roman Byzantine context into a Slavic one. There are, however, many basic similarities, which point to a very important continuity, coherence and even growth. In fact the dissimilarities are not so much marks or signs of lack of continuity, as they are signs of expansion and growth. This can be appreciated especially today, when one considers what the contemporary family of the Holy Eastern

¹Cf. B. N. Tatakis, *Studies in Christian Philosophy* [in Greek] (Athens, 1967), ch. 8 "Photios the great humanist," pp. 103ff. Tatakis also draws attention to other ninth century events in Byzantine History which are parallel to that of the evangelization of the Slavs through the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. These are the influence of Byzantium on the Arab world in the south-east and on the Latin world in the west — the former receiving from the Byzantines Greek philosophy and science and the latter the mystical theology of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite as interpreted by Maximos the Confessor and the dogmatic theology of John of Damascus' "Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith." Tatakis also stresses the fact that during this century Byzantium was enlightened with a new synthesis of Orthodoxy and Greek paideia, whereas its neighbors, in every direction, found themselves in greater or lesser darkness, and he points out that the most important instigator and representative of this new synthesis was Photios the Great (820-891) who in the Bulgarian context is most famous for his correspondence with Boris-Michael (Cf. the recent book of D. S. White and J.R. Berrigan, *The Patriarch and the Prince, The Letter of Patriarch Photios of Constantinople to Khan Boris of Bulgaria* (Brookline, MA, 1983). Photios' contribution to the Christianisation of the Slavs, especially the Bulgarians, through his support of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, was both pioneering and decisive, direct and indirect.

Orthodox Church would look like, if the holy Slavic Churches were not included in it. It would not be just Orthodoxy which would be poorer, but Christendom as a whole, since the presence of the holy Slavic Churches in the communion of the Orthodox Church adds strength and hope to contemporary Orthodox ecumenism and to the twentieth century quest for Church unity on firm apostolic foundations.

The history of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to Pannonia and Moravia and its continuation in Bulgaria by the disciples of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios, Saint Clement of Ochrid, Saint Naum, Saint Gorasd, Saint Savva, Saint Angelarios and others, has been well studied and documented by a number of distinguished contemporary scholars.² Even a cursory reading through this history clearly shows that it is marked by a vigorous evangelism, which represents in ninth century history the "apostolic evangelism" of the first century A. D.

In this short address I want to draw the main lines of the concrete image of the ninth century "apostolic evangelism" and put forward the thesis that, although it happened "yesterday," as it were, it can still inspire the Christians of "to-day" to overcome the ecclesiological scandal of divided Christendom, so that God may renew world history once more at a critical moment in international affairs. World history was indeed renewed by God at the beginning of the first millenium A. D. through the foundation of the Christian Church which grew undividedly from strength of strength, uniting peoples and nations for a thousand years. At the close

²For a masterly account in English see F. Dvornik's *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (SS Constantine/Cyril and Methodios) (New Brunswick 1970), pp. 244-54. For a Greek account see A. A. Tachiaos, *Ἱστορία τῶν Σλαβικῶν Ὁρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν*, (Thessalonike, 1970). For a succinct account see Vlassios I Pheidias *A Compendium of Church History* (in Greek), (Athens, 1967) 2, pp. 105-15. See also Vasil T. Istavridis "The missionary work of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Europe and elsewhere, based on the principles of the saints Cyril and Methodios," in *Aksum-Thyateira a Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Gt. Britain*, ed. by Protop. George D. Dragas, London 1985, pp. 455-65.

of the first millenium world history again was given a new start through the entry of the Slavic peoples into the Christian Church and tradition. It is to this that I want to turn and examine the kind of evangelism which was pursued and which made that great event possible.

I propose to do this by looking closely at one of the most important documents which relates to this history and to one of the key protagonists in it, the "Longer Life of St. Clement of Ochrid," which was most probably written by the distinguished Greek hierarch Theophilaktos, who became Archbishop of Ochrid during the period 1090-1108.³ I shall indeed take into account the work of contemporary historians, but I want to take my starting point from the "Life of Saint Clement." In what follows I shall only supply my general conclusions, plus some textual evidence, placing the rest in the footnotes.

A Biblical Apostolic Evangelism

The "Life of St Clement" shows most clearly that the basis of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, both in its initial stage in Pannonia and Moravia and subsequently in Bulgaria was

³The Greek "*Life of St Clement of Ochrid*" printed in Migne's PG 126.1193-1240, is the main and only Greek source for the life and work of the illuminators of the Slavs. Saints Cyril and Methodios and of their disciples who worked among the Bulgarians. Though Saint Clement is the central concern of this document the author refers in his quite extensive introduction to Clement's great teachers and thus reveals his roots and source of inspiration. For Cyril's and Methodios's lives there are Slavic sources, but for Clement's life only this source is available. Such as it is it reveals Clement's decisive role in the development of the ancient Bulgarian Church literature and the continuation of Cyril's and Methodios' initial work. This was achieved because of the support which Boris-Michael gave at that time to Cyril's and Methodios's death (April 835). Boris-Michael used St Clement and his friends as missionaries among the Slavs in the newly conquered Byzantine region around Ochrid. Boris's policy was followed by his son Symeon, under whom, as the above mentioned "Life" shows, Bulgarian literature and civilization reached their golden age. For a recent edition of "St Clement of Ochrid's Longer and Shorter Lives" see A. A. Tachiaos' *Sources of the Ecclesiastical History of the Orthodox Slavs*, part 1, (Thessalonike, 1984).

biblical and apostolic through and through. This should not be seen merely in the vigorous use of the holy Scriptures which were translated into the vernacular, but also in the vigorous adoption of the holy life-style of the apostles of Christ, especially of Saint Paul, the Apostle to the nations, as the basis of all their preaching and ministry. Almost every chapter of the "Life of Saint Clement" demonstrates the biblical basis and the apostolic link between piety and right thought, *orthopraxis* and *orthodoxia*.

The "Life" first shows the biblical/apostolic character of the work of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios and then proceeds to explain how it was continued and extended by the efforts of their Slav-Bulgarian disciples in Bulgaria. Thus, Pope Adrian of Rome welcomes Cyril and Methodios "as apostolic men who took on an equal role as Saint Paul and who rushed to offer to God the perfect and holy offering of the nations."⁴ Methodios is described as "a pauline bishop,"⁵ or is said "to have imitated Paul" and "to have said to his disciples that his instructions were given to them through Apostle Paul himself."⁶ Equally revealing of this biblical/apostolic consciousness of the ninth century missionaries to the Slavs is the account in the same "Life" of the missionary activities of Gorasd, Laurentios's Clement, Naum and Angelarios.⁷ Particularly striking is a statement referring to St Clement's missionary efforts in Bulgaria:

he toured all the lands . . . declaring with a loud voice — the salvation of God to the nations teaching them all about the saving commandments of God and the divine dogmas and persuading everyone that a just as modest life without healthy dogmas is truly dead, so healthy (right) dogmas without modest life do not ultimately lead to life;

⁴Ch. 3.

⁵Ch. 4.

⁶Ch. 6, where the statement: ὁ Παῦλος ὑμῖν ταῦτα δι' ἐμοῦ διατίθεται.

⁷Chs. 12-16.

for the former resembles a blind man who has feet and hands and the latter, a man who sees but whose hands and feet have been cut off.⁸

This apostolic integrity combining piety with orthodox faith is most clearly presented in the descriptions in the "Life" of Saint Clement's activities as a missionary bishop.⁹

A Traditional Evangelism

The "Life" also demonstrates, that Saint Clement's concern was the growth of the Church among the Slavs, not as a "new" or "novel" reality which stands in opposition to what existed before, but as the concrete reality of the Church of the apostles and the fathers, being transmitted from one existing context (the Greco-Roman Byzantine) into another emerging one (the Slavic-Bulgarian) by way of transplanting, extending and, as it were, rejuvenating the former. Saint Clement's "Life" includes the telling statement that, "he had taken special care to expand in every way the Church of the Lord."¹⁰

As for the "traditional/orthodox" character of the activities of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in general, and the work of Saint Clement and his colleagues in particular, the "Life" contains a number of explicit and powerful statements. It says that Methodios "admonished the Slavic leaders in every place to keep firm in their souls the unaltered dogma of the Church."¹¹ His persistence in this resulted in a daily expansion of the number of believers and a growth of the word of God similar to what one hears in Luke's account of the apostolic preaching, or to that ancient saying according to which the house of David advanced, but the house of Saul

⁸Ch. 18

⁹Chs. 21, 22 and the final eulogy of ch. 19.

¹⁰Ch. 22: καὶ ὅπως τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Κυρίου παντοιοτρόπως πλατύνῃ φροντίδα πεποιήται.

¹¹Ch. 5 τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπαραποίητον δόγμα.

opposed this and decreased daily.¹² Again Methodios emphasized "the need for the Slavic leaders to support others to keep the testament which was received from the apostles and the fathers at various times, which testament the latter will demand of the former on the day of recompense."¹³ The "Life" also presents Gorasd and Clement arguing against their Franco-German heretical opponents that "they could not help but follow Methodios . . . believing, as he had taught them,. . . (for he was not dead but remained as their teacher alive in God),. . . that since this new faith (of their opponents) was not in agreement with the witness of the Scriptures,. . . nor composed by the holy fathers, they would never fail of imposing on them Paul's anathema, saying explicitly that if one was to preach to them another Gospel from that which they received he should be anathema."¹⁴ Again the "Life" tells us that Gorasd and Clement insisted on holding fast to "the ecclesiastical dogma," or to "the Gospel and the Creed," or to "the Gospel and the Exposition of the Fathers which was based on the work of the Spirit,"¹⁵ and that they challenged their Franco-German opponents to take their stand upon the Gospel and the Fathers, promising, in this case, to run to them and embrace them as brothers."¹⁶ Finally we read in the "Life" that "St Clement confirmed the people's will upon the stone of the orthodox religion of the Christians by laying down the firm foundation of the faith."¹⁷

By being traditional in this way the ninth century evangelization of the Slavs and the history to which it gave rise, constituted a real challenge to general political history and positively advanced the friendship and cooperation between

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ch. 6: . . . μάλλον μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιστηρίζετε φυλάττειν τὴν παρακαταθήκην, ἣν παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς Πατέρων ἐλάβομεν, ἣν ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνταποδόσεως.

¹⁴Ch. 8.

¹⁵Ch. 9.

¹⁶Ibid. . . . εἰ μετὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν Πατέρων συντάσσονται.

¹⁷Ch. 21.

the world of the Slavs and the world of the Greco-Roman Byzantines. It was an attempt of the Church and ultimately an act of divine grace, to wipe out every narrow ethnic and political antithesis between the Byzantine Greeks and the Slavs which was conveniently promoted by the Franks and their western allies. This is why what was achieved under Bulgarian political domination continued to operate later on under the political and multi-cultural domination of Byzantium. This very document of "St. Clement's Life," written in Greek by a Greek Byzantine for Bulgarians and Greeks, constitutes a most eloquent proof of the consolidation of such Greek-Slavic friendship. Other proofs which one could mention here are:

a) the attachment of Saint Clement (most likely a Mysian Bulgarian) to Saint Methodios (a Thessalonian Greek), which goes back to the latter's apostolic love and vision for the Slavs;¹⁸

b) the extensive use of Greek materials and sources in Saint Clement's great literary legacy to the Bulgarians and the other Slavic nations;¹⁹

¹⁸For Saint Clement's attachment to Saint Methodios see especially the remarkable statement of ch. 22: "The scope of his (Clement's) life was the great Methodios, and to him he turned and prayer . . . copying his life upon his own like a wise painter . . .". For the attachment of the Bulgarian disciples of Saint Methodios to him see ch. viii and especially the statement, "we have as teacher him who lives in God, being with us and speaking with us . . . (τὸν ἐν Θεῷ ζῶντα διδάσκαλον ἔχομεν, πνευματικῶς ἡμῖν συνόντα καὶ συλλαλοῦντα . . .)".

¹⁹Cf. chs. 22, 23, 26, and especially the following telling statement of ch. 23: from the land of the Greeks he transported every kind of fruit bearing tree and by means of grafts he made fruit bearing the wild trees of Bulgaria (ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Γραικῶν χώρας πᾶν εἶδος ἡμέρων δένδρων μεταγαγὼν καὶ τοῖς ἐγκεντρισμοῖς καθημερώσας τὰ ἄγρια . . .).

For the important involvement of Photios on this see F. Dvornik, "Patriarch Photios, Scholar and Statesman," ch. 7 pp. 15ff of his *Photian and Byzantine Ecclesiastical Studies*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1974). Dvornik speaks of a great Slavic Centre for providing translations of Greek books into Slavonic. "Specialists in Slavonic philology are now inclined to believe," says Dvornik "that this Centre founded in Constantinople by Photius, had a lion's share in the spreading of Slavonic

c) the adoption of the Greek Byzantine liturgical tradition, including the calendar with the feasts of the Greco-Roman saints and martyrs and the Greek liturgical books;²⁰

d) the adoption of the Greco-Roman Byzantine Church Law and Order.²¹

An Orthodox Evangelism

Saint Clement's "Life" also demonstrates most eloquently that his evangelistic activity was consciously based on the orthodox tradition of faith, that is, on "what Christ gave the Apostles preached and the Fathers kept," if I am to use Saint Athanasios' succinct definition of orthodoxy. This is most impressively revealed in the clash in Pannonia and Moravia between the apostles of the Slavs and their Slavic-Bulgarian disciples and collaborators with the Frankish German speaking priests who are repeatedly called "heretics" in Saint Clement's "Life." It was actually as a result of this clash that the Bulgarian mission was born.

We read in the "Life" about "the system of the heretics,"²² or "the all-daring multitude of the heretics . . . who did not bear to have Methodios as their opponent since he remained alive and fighting even after his death,"²³ or "the heresy raising his head and raging against the orthodox multitude of Saint Methodios's disciples";²⁴ or we find a

Liturgy and Byzantine civilization in Bulgaria and Kievan Russia." Cf. also Ihor Sevcenko's "Remarks on the Diffusions of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 59 (1981) 321-45.

²⁰Cf. chs. 22 and 26.

²¹The Greek "Nomocanon" of the Eastern Church was first translated into Slavonic by Saint Methodios and was handed over by him to his disciples. Cf. here, pp. 326f of I. Sevcenko's "Remarks on the Diffusion" p.326f.

²²Ch. 5: τὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν σύστημα.

²³Ch. 7: οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἡ πάντολμος πληθὺς τῶν αἰρετικῶν τὸν Μεθόδιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ζῶντα ἀντίμαχον.

²⁴Ch. 8: κεφαλὴν δὲ ἡ αἵρεσις αἶρει καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὀρθοδοξοῦσης πληθούς τῶν Μεθοδίου μαθητῶν γαυριά.

reference to the "intoxication of heresy."²⁵ We read about the heretical attempt to befriend Svetopolk,²⁶ "the heresy crowning herself against orthodoxy by means of incompetent and biased judges."²⁷ Gorasd is presented as "the master of Slavonic and Greek and worthy successor of Saint Methodios, being deprived of his episcopal throne by the malice of the heretics,"²⁸ while "the tongue of the heretics attempts with slander to minimize the miracles performed by Saint Methodios' disciples."²⁹ Saint Clement and his colleagues are said to have narrowly escaped "the callousness of the heretics" on account of "the deluge of heresies."³⁰

The main cause for the above mentioned clash between the orthodox missionaries and their heretical opponents was the theoretical Frankish doctrine of the "Filioque."³²

But Methodios' disciples said through Gorasd and Clement . . . for this faith of yours we have not found any support in Scripture, nor in the compositions of the holy Fathers . . . therefore we believe that the Spirit is of the Son, since he is the Spirit of life and Truth (Rom 8.2 and Jn 14.17), which are the Son, and also that the Spirit is the mind of Christ. We have not learned, nor shall we learn that he is derived from the Son, nor shall we deny the faith . . .

Though the "Life" of Clement does not make explicit mention of it, it is clear from other sources relating to the

²⁵Ch. 7: ἡ μέθη τῆς αἰρέσεως.

²⁶Ch. 10.

²⁷Ch. 11.

²⁸Ch. 12.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ch. 16. Cf. also the "Shorter Life," ch. 4 which speaks of "the prevailing at that time dynasty of the heretics" (τῆς κρατούσης τότε τῶν αἰρετικῶν δυναστείας).

³¹Cf. Chs 5, 6, 8, and 9.

³²Ch. 8.

missionary activities of the brothers Constantine Cyril and Methodios and from the work of modern scholars that another heresy was also inhibiting the ninth century mission to the Slavs. This is the so-called "tri-lingual heresy" which was basically an ecclesiological one, since it militated against the spirit of Pentecost by subordinating the Church's mission to cultural considerations. This heresy was current among the Frankish, Venetian and some Roman clergy in the 860's and asserted (echoing Isidore of Seville's statement³³ about "three sacred languages") that God could be worshiped only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, the languages, that is, which were inscribed on Christ's cross. This meant that other languages, such as Slavonic, had to be excluded from Christian missionary work. Such a view, which would have incurred disastrous implications for the Slavic peoples if it had been adopted, was decisively opposed as heretical by the Greek Byzantine Christians who, on account of their Christian conversion had abandoned the old distinction between Greek and barbarian, as I. Sevcenko has so clearly pointed out, following Professor Dvornik's research.³⁴ An interesting discussion of the implications of this attitude of Eastern Orthodoxy, especially for the link between ethnic and Christian identity, can be found in a recent article of Dimitri Obolensky in which he attempts to answer the question of why the disciples of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios felt the need to explain and justify their master's missionary work.³⁵

³³Migne's PL 88.182C.

³⁴Cf. his article "Three paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission" in the *Slavic Review*, 23 (1964), pp. 220-36.

³⁵Cf. his article "The Cyrillo-Methodian mission: The Scriptural foundations" in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 30 (1986) 101-16. Obolensky develops his argument which is somewhat overdrawn by discussing six relevant texts: 1) the "Vita Constantini" and the "Vita Methodii" (old Slavonic biographies), 2) the "Prologue" (*Proglas*) to the translated Gospels (old Church Slavonic text of the 9th century), 3) the "Alphabetical Prayer" (*Azbuchnaya Molitva*) which is a poem written by Constantine the presbyter, a disciple of Methodios, 4) the "Primary Chronicle" (a Russian composition made in Kiev in the late eleventh

Obolensky rightly emphasizes the orthodox concept of "ethnic identity" as demonstrated in the passionate belief of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios that all tongues are equal in the sight of God, which in my understanding is the result of the decisive wedding of the hellenic catholic humanist spirit with the universal soteriological scope of the Christian gospel.

A National Ethnic Evangelism

Just as the evangelistic efforts of the apostles to the Slavs were directed to the whole Moravian Slavic people, so the similar efforts of their disciples in Bulgaria were directed to the whole Bulgarian nation. It is very important to stress this because it reveals a basic characteristic of the Eastern Orthodox understanding of mission which distinguishes it from some modern Protestant models of evangelism. The former is distinctly "ethnic" and "corporate," whereas the

century, 5) the "Vita S Clementi" (the Greek composition of Theophylaktos of Bulgaria written in the eleventh century) and 6) a late medieval "Vita" of Saint Stephen of Perm, the Russian monk who preached the Gospel to the pagan Zyrians in the fourteenth century. According to Obolensky's investigations the first document emphasizes the link between the word of the sacred vernacular and the Incarnate Word of God. The second one is the biblical view that every tongue should praise God which Constantine/Cyril used against the "trilingual heresy," which was based on Mark 16 ("they shall speak with new tongues"), Philippians 2 ("every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord") and 1 Cor 14 ("it is better to prophesy than to speak with tongues"). The third argument is based on the notion of a "new people" which is found in the Epistle of Barnabas and is cited in most of the above documents. This points, according to Obolensky, to the concept of ethnic self-determination which is defended on the basis of Matthew 20.16. Fourthly the "Vita Methodii" believes that the advent of the Slavonic liturgy is equivalent to a second Pentecost. The same is emphasized by Theophylaktos in the "Vita S Clementis" ch. 2, while the Pentecostal theme as an undoing of Babel is emphasized in the "Russian Primary Chronicle" which is probably borrowed from the Kontakion of Pentecost. Fifthly there is the theme of transfiguration which appears in the "Prologue" in the "Russian Primary Chronicle" and in Epiphany's "Life of St. Stephen of Perm."

latter is rather "individualistic."

What is particularly impressive in the case of the Orthodox evangelism in Bulgaria is the strong backing given by the Bulgarian State to this mission, thanks to such pious and inspired Bulgarian leaders as Boris-Michael (852-888) and Symeon (893-927). The "Life" of Saint Clement informs us that Boris-Michael, having met with and heard the story of Saint Clement and his companions, "greatly thanked God for sending to him such helpers and benefactors for Bulgaria, granting teachers and experts of the faith who were not ordinary men but confessors and martyrs. He gave them vestments appropriate for priests and having treated them with every honour, ordered that the first habitations which had been set apart for his friends should be distributed to them. Indeed, he looked after them by supplying richly for all their needs. . . ."³⁶ Thanks to this state support the work of the missionaries was quickly met with tremendous success. The "Life" of Saint Clement speaks of thirty-five hundred "select people" receiving instruction from Saint Clement and forming schools where children were taught to read and write the glagolitic (Slavonic) script.³⁷ It also mentions three hundred readers, subdeacons, deacons and priests assigned by Saint Clement to each of the seven Bulgarian dioceses which were created with the assistance of the state. Thus a powerful ethnic Bulgarian team of educators was created which added in the following century sufficient works to the core of the Cyrillo-Methodian writings to help in the Christianization and the development of all the Slavs including the Russians.

The case of the Bulgarian Church shows once more that Orthodoxy has always given its best results and has accomplished its greatest achievements whenever there has

³⁶Ch. 16.

³⁷Cf. ch. 17 (which outlines Boris's missionary strategy), ch. 18 (which outlines the achievement of the first seven years of the Bulgarian mission) and chs. 19-21 (which outline Vladimir's and Symeon's continued support for the Evangelists).

been a harmonious cooperation between the state and the church. That nothing could be more beneficial than this state-church alliance for the life and well-being of a nation, is most impressively shown by the collaboration of Saint Clement with Boris-Michael and Symeon, which resulted in what has been rightly described as the dawn of Bulgarian civilization and as the golden age of the Bulgarian literature.³⁸ The benefit was not only national but international, since it had implications in the relations of the Bulgarians with both the Greco-Roman Byzantines and the rest of the Slavic peoples.

An International Ecumenical Evangelism

What Saint Clement and his collaborators achieved for the Bulgarians had specific international and ecumenical dimensions and implications. Without destroying the identity and characteristics of the Bulgarian people, they linked their history and development with that of the Greek Byzantines, taking from them and, from then on, sharing with them their catholic achievements which demonstrate universal truth and essential human identity. The "Life" of Saint Clement states in one of its paragraphs:

that he (Clement) granted to the entire land of the Bulgarians . . . from the land of the Greeks . . . every kind of fruit-bearing tree, changing by means of appropriate grafts the wild fruit-less trees of the Bulgarians into fruitful ones, so that human souls derived much benefit and the Church was expanded and . . . many souls were granted salvation.³⁹

The link of the Bulgarians with the Greeks which was effected at that time continues to be the most positive and promising one for contemporary and future relations between these two

³⁸Cf. chs. 22, 23, and I. Sevçenko's article "Remarks on the Diffusion."

³⁹Ch. 13.

nations, and the same must be said about the relations between all the Slavs with the Greeks and the Christian peoples of the Middle East. It represents a sort of "international/ecumenical wedding" where each partner retains his distinctive identity and shares the other's possessions. Is this not the appropriate model for international progress in the contemporary context of the Church and the world?

By Way of Epilogue

What conclusions, then, can we draw from these general reflections upon the ninth century Christian missions to the Bulgarians?

"Yesterday" we were taught by Saint Clement of Ochrid and his Bulgarian collaborators that the Christian work is:

- a) "biblical and apostolic," inasmuch as it is traced to the God-given beginnings of Christian existence;
- b) "traditional," inasmuch as it stands in continuity with the God-sustained historical existence of the Church;
- c) "orthodox," inasmuch as it retains the integrity of the Christian faith by keeping the God-inspired apostolic and patristic holy tradition;
- d) "national and ethnic," inasmuch as it is concerned with the renewal of an entire nation and not simply with some individuals in it; and finally,
- e) "international and ecumenical," inasmuch as it conjoins nations into a brotherhood which is open to and destined to include all other nations leaving no human existence deprived of the saving communion of God with mankind.

Am I not right in thinking that such an Orthodox evangelism, like the one which was demonstrated by the great apostles to the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodios and their great disciples and Bulgarian missionaries, as it was briefly analyzed above, gives concrete hope to our modern efforts for unity in church and nation and in the human family of

nations.

I pray to God at this great Orthodox celebration that he may inspire all and raise state and church leaders, like those of the ninth century Greeks and Bulgarians, who will allow God to renew the Church and the world of "today" as he did in the past.

May God almighty, the holy, consubstantial, undivided Trinity, preserve, strengthen, and inspire his Holiness Patriarch Maxim of Bulgaria and the holy Church of our Bulgarian brethren. Eternal be the holy memory of the apostles to the Slavs, Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios, and of their holy disciples and evangelists Saint Gorasd, Saint Clement, Saint Naum, Saint Savvas, Saint Angelarios and Saint Laurentios with all their collaborators.

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Come Before God. By Alkiviadis Calivas. Brookline, MA.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1986. Pp. 32. Paper.

This is a little book which I think every Orthodox Christian will find deeply moving and inspirational. I am aware that the word "inspirational" is often used in an off-handed or cheap way. I do not use it in such a way here. This book is inspirational in the true sense of the word: one can bring into himself a sense of the Church and its prayer, can breathe in, as it were, the beauty of our Faith. The author has accomplished what he has in providing us with inspiration by a beauty of expression obviously formed by the patristic witness. Many of the expressions and indeed whole sentences out of this little book can be found almost verbatim in the Fathers. The book is a patristic exposition.

It seems to me that there are three simultaneous themes in this exposition: prayer, the Church, and time as the Church understands it. The book sets forth the importance of prayer, relates prayer to the Divine Liturgy and the services of the Church, and then sets all of this within the framework of ecclesiastical time: the liturgical year, the Lenten experience, and the eternal day of the "one Sabbath." We understand from this framework the essential unity of the Faith as it challenges us in time: each day boldly to set forth with trust in the Divine.

Many spiritual books can be maudlin and uninformative — "inspirational" in the cheap sense, entertaining more the author than the reader. This is not one of those books. Its message is compelling. It captures the attention. It provides patristic philosophy in language and in images that anyone can understand. I commend the author for a beautiful little volume and recommend the book to all Christians.

Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

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Constantine. By Frieda S. Upson. Brookline, MA.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1986. Pp. 358. Paper.

I was a bit surprised when I first saw the late Frieda Upson's novel, *Constantine*, appear under the imprint of the Holy Cross Orthodox Press. To be sure, Dr. Upson was a classicist of renown, Harvard (Radcliffe)-educated, and an accomplished writer. And certainly the Holy Cross Press has published secular material of particular interest to the classicist, material not pretending to have any specific religious or theological content. But an historical novel about Saint Constantine the Great? Somehow this seemed to me, at first glance, outside the purview of the Holy Cross Orthodox Press. My impression was changed after reading the first few pages of the book.

Dr. Upson's fictional novel about the Emperor Constantine is a gem: a diamond of theological thought, a ruby of fine writing, and a precious stone before the path of those who, immersed in polemical Western scholarship that dates as far back as Gibbon, would foolishly mock the Orthodox Church's veneration of this "Equal to the Apostles," Constantine the Great. Only an historian with an objective, thorough, and incisive knowledge of classical Rome can understand the Emperor Constantine. His Christian character is open only to those who are open-minded enough to embrace the teachings of the Orthodox Church and to see that they fill out the record of history with the personal evidence that only spiritual sensitivity can preserve within the vehicle of religious tradition. Only someone fully immersed in ecclesiastical literature from the age of Constantine can avoid the foolish prattle of dilettantes (and this includes some converts to the Orthodox faith) who misunderstand both the religious beliefs of the Emperor-Saint and the nature of sanctity within Orthodoxy. That someone is Frieda Upson. Her book is a theological, historical, and apologetic masterpiece.

It is no secret that I am a rabid traditionalist, if I may use an otherwise nasty adjective in a positive way. I am such for a reason. Tradition is something alive. It is a medium, a context, a living force. One must immerse himself, for example, into Orthodox spiritual life in order to understand its primacy and its ultimate impact. That immersion is within the water of strict tradition. The same is true of history. As Collingwood argued, a true historian must live in the context of what he studies. He must be present to and *in* the history which he studies. Dr. Upson immerses herself in the period of time surrounding the life of Saint Constantine. She brings to life what is dead to those who superficially study this great man with the jaundiced eyes of Western historiography. Her portrayal of Constantine is, therefore, traditional, wholly consistent with the spiritual witness of the Church. Her portrayal captures a Saint — a man who was sanctified, not by a life of exemplary asceticism or even perfect virtue, but a man who acted out the role assigned to him by God in the history of the Christian Church.

Dr. Upson's book is, of course, fictional. The dialogue is her own. Many of the characters which she brings to life are mere names in history, here given flesh and blood. But her work goes beyond fiction. From an obvious appreciation for history — of the kind which we have cited above, a history of record *and* a history of spiritual and ecclesiastical tradition — she presents us with a Christian Constantine, a Constantine whom Gibbon and those who followed him, blinded by prejudice and bigotry, refused to see. We see a man struggling with conscience, betrayed by family members, misled by his wife, and deeply influenced by his gentle, pious, peaceful, and patient mother, the Empress Mother Saint Helena. We see in Dr. Upson's historical "fiction" the same warm and beloved Saints whom contemporary bishops and clerics revered with hyperbolic love and affection. We see a confirmation of our Faith by a person who understands the nature of history and who has the courage to exalt the true heroes of history and the great champions of our Faith. Not

one Orthodox Christian should miss this book.

I cannot adequately praise this woman for having written a classic. And I cannot adequately thank the Holy Cross Orthodox Press for having produced a book of this quality. If this book is necessary reading for every Orthodox Christian, it is a necessary remedial work for all those who foolishly question the sanctity of one of the great figures of the Orthodox faith and the whole Christian world.

Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

The Monastic Life. By Metropolitan Cyprian. Translated by Bishop Chrysostomos. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1988. Pp. 55. Paper.

The author of this spiritually insightful book is Abbot of the Holy Monastery of Saints Cyprian and Justina in Fili, Greece.

In this brief volume, the author brings to focus contemporary Western Christianity's misunderstanding of the purpose and direction of the Orthodox monastic life. Unfortunately, this Western misconception has even spread into certain segments of the Orthodox Church, owing to the recent influence of alien Western theologies on our theological thinkers and the influx into the Orthodox Church of converts with little familiarity with the monastic traditions of the East.

The stark contrast between the Orthodox monastic's pursuit of *theosis* (divinization) and the Western world's attempt to identify the individual (to include the monk) as the sum of his social interactions and to value him in terms of his social contribution to the material welfare of society is demonstrated in this book through a conversation between a young theologian and a monk. The conversation between these two individuals is both instructive and spiritually moving to the reader, and is reminiscent of the dialogue between the Elder Zossima and his young disciple in Dostoyevsky's

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Demonology in the Orthodox Church: A Psychological Perspective*

BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS

THE SECOND LAW OF THERMODYNAMICS ESTABLISHES, BY accounting for the effects of entropy, that physical and chemical realities are governed by a tension between states of balance or equilibrium and states of imbalance or opposition. A principle of engineering is that for every constructive or supportive force there is a corresponding destructive or counter-force. Those very forces which sustain and maintain the structural integrity of physical objects are consistently and everywhere in a state of resistance to forces of disintegration. Indeed, the biological world can be ultimately understood by the juxtaposition of the antipodes of life-generating and life-supporting mechanisms with life-threatening and life-destructive mechanisms: by contrasting birth and death. And it is precisely within this notion of the struggle between constructive and destructive forces that we can understand the most fundamental elements of cosmology which underlie the consensus of the patristic witness of the Eastern Church.

The Eastern Fathers — not exclusively in contradistinction to the Latin Fathers, though with an emphatic consistency characteristic of their separate witness — portray the spiritual life and, indeed, the course of Christian history in images of the constant struggle between the evil force of Satan and

*This paper was originally delivered as a faculty lecture at the Theological Institute of Uppsala University in Sweden, Fall 1987.

his demonic cohorts and the goodness of God and those energized by his living force, that is, the martyrs, saints, and angels. Were one to ask a scientist why the transformation of energy is better than its destruction, or why, in the midst of "valueless" science, the scientist seeks to build and not to destroy, his answer would be vague at best. He might retreat to some idea about the "quality of life" or man's search for creativity, but his answer would certainly be equivocal. Not so with the Fathers. If one searches their writings for an explanation of the goodness of that which is creative and aligned with the forces of God, they will respond that this truth is as intuitively true to the human psyche — flowing forth, as it does, from divine revelation — as is evidence for the opposing forces of the physical universe empirically true and demonstrable. Thus, not only does the cosmology of the Eastern Fathers reflect a certain reality about the empirical world, but it resolutely includes within cosmological reality a theocentric notion of constructive good. God and his "friends," as many have called the positive spiritual entities and the martyrs and saints, are to be desired over Satan and his destructive demons. This desire is the basis of spiritual life — of the spiritual struggle which is spiritual life.

The Eastern patristic emphasis on the struggle between good and evil forces in the universe has often been naively attacked as a form of dualism; identified quite inaccurately with certain neo-Platonic assumptions; and even rather stupidly associated with primitive gnosticism. These misunderstandings result, one must argue, primarily from a superficial knowledge of the Fathers and of philosophy itself. Though the Eastern Fathers do, as we have noted, base their cosmology on a struggle between good and evil, the intent of their characterization of spiritual struggle is by no means Neoplatonic or gnostic. Nor does it posit an impassable chasm between good and evil, as one finds in dualistic models. Rather, the Fathers portray a very organic and natural interaction between these forces. Indeed the very anthropology of the Fathers places within the human being elements of good and evil that interact and intermingle in the natural course of

human behavior. It is for this reason that I did not, without clear purpose, refer to the interaction between constructive and destructive forces in my introductory remarks above. Just as physical reality, though possessed by an interaction between forces of a positive and negative kind, does not present to us a dualistic model of conflict, so the Fathers, too, speak of contrast, struggle, and conflict in an integrated manner.

We must also remember that Christian cosmology, again in the particular emphasis of the Eastern Fathers, rests not only on a revealed assumption about the goodness of God and the constructive forces associated with him, but also assumes that goodness — “light,” to use a Johannine metaphor — has triumphed ontologically over evil. The spiritual struggle for union with God, for salvation, for the transformation of the human being by his participation in the Divine, for *theosis* (θέωσις), or divinization, as the Eastern Fathers call this restoration of man — all of this rests in the potential for human redemption realized in the victory of Christ over death, by the cross and the resurrection. Though in history and in human existence, our struggle for freedom from evil is real and essential, the cross and the paschal event make our victory possible and insure that, for one who wishes to align himself with God and with his goodness, the forces of evil will pale before those of good. Let us turn for a moment to a very relevant passage from the desert Fathers, those ascetics of the Egyptian desert who, in the first few centuries of the Christian era, lived the lives which Eastern patristic theology attempts to express:

Abba Dorotheos the Thebaid once sent his disciple to take water from the well. Just as the disciple bent down to take up the water, he saw within the well a huge poisonous snake. Excitedly, he dropped his pail and ran to his elder.

“Abba, we are done for! Our water is poisoned. I found a viper in the well!”

“And if the devil decides to throw vipers in all of the wells, will you then die of thirst?” the elder asked, shaking his head at the cowardice of his disciple.

Afterwards the elder went to the well and pulled up a

bucket of water himself. He made the sign of the cross and drank first, afterwards giving some to his disciple.

“Where the Cross is,” he said, “the evil of the Enemy cannot reside.”¹

The cosmological struggle between good and evil expresses itself, as we see, in the individual Christian life as it reaches up to the potential and power of divinization bestowed on the human by the cross and resurrection. Writing about the ecclesiology of Saint Ignatios of Antioch (fl. second century), the eminent Greek theologian John Romanides has noted that individual salvation, which is “completely christo-centric,” rising out of the resurrected Christ, rests partly on Christ’s “. . . granting of the power to defeat the devil.” Father John expands this notion, building on what he sees as Saint Ignatios’ essentially perfect expression of the Eastern patristic tradition, to speak to the witness of the Church itself:

Participation of [in] the love of God in union with each other in the Church, that is, which is indeed communion of divine life, can be weakened and destroyed by man’s inattention to the ways of Satan. . . . The Church has two aspects, one positive — love, unity, and communion of immortality with each other and with the saints in Christ; and one negative — the war against Satan and his powers, already defeated in the flesh of Christ by those living in Christ, beyond death. . . . Christology is the positive aspect of the Church, but is conditioned by biblical demonology, which is the key negative factor which determines both christology and ecclesiology, both of which are incomprehensible without an adequate understanding of the work and methods of Satan.²

To speak of the Orthodox Church itself, then, one must

¹Γεροντικόν (Thessalonike, 1980), p. 80.

²See John S. Romanides, “The Ecclesiology of St. Ignatius of Antioch,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 7 (1962) 62-64.

have recourse to a model of struggle, that between the christological positiveness of the Church's message and the recalcitrant desire of the enemy, Satan, to destroy the Church's witness. It is perhaps the failure of the West to understand this militant view of the Church which accounts for its sometimes naive and polemical reaction to Eastern ecclesiastical historiography, which measures the course of the Church as much by controversy (such as the Arian and Iconoclastic conflicts) as anything else. This view also accounts for the decreased sensitivity among Eastern Christians to the "great scandal" of Christian separation and division which has preoccupied so many Western church historians. The Church survives conflict and separation. Its great triumphs, in fact, are commemorated by events closely related to conflict and trial (e.g., the Ecumenical Synods themselves, the restoration of the icons, and local church celebrations of victory over enemies which threatened to eradicate the Church). Movements within the Church that have caused separation (the hesychastic controversy, the Kolyvades movement, and, of late, the Old Calendar movement) have also contributed to the theological richness of Orthodoxy. In many ways, as Father Dmitri Dudko, the Russian pastor, has commented, we Orthodox are "united in our separation." Herein lies, too, the resistance to papism that has so long distinguished Orthodox theologians from their Roman Catholic counterparts, with regard to ecclesiological outlook. We expect the Church to be attacked by Satan, expecting this with the same surety by which we maintain that the Church will always be victorious against such attacks. There are not and cannot be worldly, organizational, or personal assurances against militancy, separation, and conflict within the Church. The struggle of Satan and his demons against the Church's unity is part of the very essence of the Church.

The cosmology of the Eastern Fathers is, indeed, rooted in biblical evidence. Saint Paul, for example, speaks of the whole of Christian experience as a struggle, not with the flesh or with the world as such, but between the pious and theocentric Christian world view and the forces of evil: "Finally,

my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.”³ Moreover, Satan and demons, the latter’s representatives, played a pivotal role in the ministry of Christ himself. Fasting for forty days in the desert, Christ was confronted by the Evil One, who put forth his claims to kingship over the world: “And the devil, taking him up into a high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, “All this power will I give thee and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever will I give it.” Placing before the devil the *true ruler* of all things, however, Christ answers, “Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.’ ”⁴

That Christ recognized, spoke with, and commanded the servants of Satan during his earthly ministry is also undeniably established in Scripture. Of the many passages that might be cited, let us look at several characteristic ones. In Saint Matthew, Christ drives a demon from a mute, causing the multitudes to marvel.⁵ In the gospel according to Saint Mark, Jesus actually confronts a number of demons in dialogue: “And he [Jesus] asked him, ‘What is thy name?’ And he answered, saying, ‘My name is Legion; for we are many.’”⁶ At yet another time, demons cry out to Christ from a man whom they have possessed, “Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us?” Christ replies to them, “Hold thy peace and come out of him.” The demons immediately flee from the demonized man, obeying Christ’s command.⁷ There is also

³Eph 6.10-12.

⁴Lk 4.5-6, 8.

⁵Lk 9.32-34.

⁶Lk 5.9-13.

⁷Lk 4.34-35.

evidence of the difference between various demons in the gospels, as we read in Saint Matthew. Christ's disciples, unable to drive a demon from a certain man's son, ask of Christ, who had indeed done what they could not, "Why could not we cast him out?" Chastising them for their unbelief, Jesus notes that this kind of demon ". . . goeth not out but by prayer and fasting" — something about which we shall have more to say subsequently.⁸

If the writings of the Eastern church Fathers are anchored in biblical evidence for a cosmology which pits God and his redemptive work, Christ and the Church, and the individual spiritual aspirant against the power of Satan and his forces, patristic references to this cosmology are voluminous. It would thus be impossible, if not unnecessary, to illustrate, here, the consensus of the position of the Fathers with regard to this cosmology. However, it might be fruitful to draw a few references from the *Philokalia* (*Φιλοκαλία*), that remarkable collection of texts on the spiritual life and the path to union with Christ compiled, in the eighteenth century, by Saints Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos the Hagiorite. Expressing the consensus of the spiritual experience of the Christian East from the earliest centuries, these texts provide endless examples of the struggle with demons that one encounters in the path toward Christian perfection and along the road of spiritual development. We will cite a few exemplary texts.

In his "On Prayer: One Hundred and Fifty-Three Texts," Evagrius the Solitary (fourth century) observes that: "If you cultivate prayer, be ready for the attacks of demons and endure them resolutely; for they will come at you like wild beasts and maltreat your whole body. . . . We have heard that the evil one attacked a certain saint so fiercely as he prayed that, when the saint lifted up his hands, the evil one changed himself into a lion and raising his front legs, fixed his claws into the saint's thighs. . . ." Of great interest, too, are the

⁸17.19-21.

⁹*Philokalia*, trans. G. E. H. Palmer et al. (London, 1979), 1, pp. 66-67.

following passages from the "First Century of Various Texts," by Saint Maximos the Confessor (seventh century). First, we learn of the goal of human life: "God made us that we might become partakers of the 'divine nature' (2 Pet. 1.4) and sharers in his eternity, and so that we might become like him (cf. 1 Jn. 2.2) through deification by grace. It is through deification that all things are reconstituted and achieve their permanence: and it is for its sake that what is not is brought into being and given existence." Then we read of that which underlies the attainment of this goal: "... We cannot be reconciled with God until we have first begun to fight against the devil with all our strength. For though we assume the name of faithful Christians, until we have made ourselves the devil's enemies and fight against him, we continue by deliberate choice to serve the shameful passions."¹⁰ Saint Theognostos (? third century) rather concisely summarizes the Eastern patristic teaching on these matters in two short passages from his essay, "On the Practice of the Virtues, Contemplation, and the Priesthood": "Be watchful at all times because of the ungodly demons that surround us, always plotting to disgrace us and craftily watching for our heel (cf. Gen. 3.15). . . . The enemy attacks us with fierce and terrible temptations when he perceives that our soul aspires to scale the great heights of virtue. . . . The hater of mankind tries us with such malice that we despair even of our life."¹¹

The formal data, as it were, are before us. Indisputably the Orthodox Church, her patristic tradition, and the biblical authority upon which that tradition rests attest to the reality of demons in the spiritual life and to the warfare between the things of God and the things of the devil which constitute that life. Whether in abstract considerations of her cosmology or in the more tangible facts of the spiritual struggles waged by her saints and Fathers, the Church's affirmation of demons and their warfare against the Christian aspirant cannot be

¹⁰Ibid. 2, p. 173.

¹¹Ibid. p. 273.

discounted. How are we to account for the reality of demons as the Orthodox Church has understood them throughout the centuries? Are we and many Western Christians who share with the Orthodox this kind of cosmology and these spiritual experiences an aberrant Christian witness? Do our church Fathers share with Christ and the disciples a limitation in intellect or an excessive penchant for mental fantasy? Indeed, how can we look at these experiences from a psychological perspective (a question of interest to me, since I am both a cleric and a psychologist)? I think that we can approach these questions from two standpoints: from a traditional, ostensibly empirical and critical viewpoint, and from that I will call a heuristic viewpoint — from an openminded outlook that does not dismiss these experiences as delusional or psychopathic, but which encourages us to analyze them and to build on what they possibly suggest about our accepted scientific assumptions and paradigms.

With regard to the critical approach, I must admit that it has the proverbial “upper hand.” To disprove what is experiential, spiritual, and perhaps even “mystical” is easy. On the one hand, para-normal experiences are by nature outside of our “normal” investigative procedures, if only because these procedures are tailored to experiences that the procedures are meant to measure: normal ones. On the other hand, fakery and quackery abound where normal methods of verification and examination fail. It is thus very easy for the superficial observer to dismiss all para-normal experience as false. This is especially tempting when one realizes that, with regard to the specific subject of demons, a very ugly and self-serving “theology,” if I may use that term loosely, has developed around the notion of compelling evil. This is called the “devil made me do it” syndrome, in which evil behaviors, if not actual moral infractions, are attributed, not to personal shortcomings and faults in character, but to some evil entity that has usurped the human will. Naturally, the teachings of the Eastern Fathers place all responsibility for human action on the individual and certainly do not see demonic powers through the sensationalist eyes of the Hollywood screen

writers, who portray innocent, unsuspecting individuals as the victims of some soul- and mind-snatching evil force. Nonetheless, the temptation to dismiss the subject of demonology as a fast way for a fast character to relieve himself of responsibility for his errant ways is there.

In theological circles, the predominant view of New Testamental and patristic references to demons is that the bulk of this material entered into Christianity from Judaism, Manichaeism, and ancient Gnosticism. Certainly there are few places, outside patristic studies *per se*, that one would find the subject of demonology treated as an integral and coherent element of a cosmology of the kind we have assigned to the Eastern patristic consensus. It was during the Enlightenment and its faith in the enduring ability of human reason to fathom truth, bolstered by the growth of empiricism in almost all areas of study, that theologians first turned to the modern view of demonology, dismissing demons as an historical curiosity and turning from any serious affirmation of the existence of actual evil spiritual forces. The rationalism of the nineteenth century, which undeniably contributed to the development of the assumptions about human behavior that underlie the birth of modern psychological enquiry, placed theologians in the same camp as the advocates of the budding science of psychology. They viewed demonology as belonging to the world of psychopathology, the vision of demons is delusionary in nature, and cosmological models that set forth an ontological struggle between good and evil that can touch on and affect human behavior border on the paranoiac. If an individual reporting an experience of exchanges with demonic entities or acknowledging the activity of demonic forces in his daily life is diagnosed a schizophrenic and hospitalized, which is quite likely, until very lately, as we shall see, not only would the psychologist or psychiatrist wholly accept this action, but so would the theologian.

What I have called a heuristic approach to the understanding of demonology has been given a singular boost in the past several decades by psychological research that has begun to break out of the restraints of naive empiricism. A number of psychologists and psychiatrists (Rogers, Maslow,

Frankl) have suggested that abstract psychological needs, such as the need for love or meaning, play a powerful role in the human psyche. They have suggested that these positive abstractions have a force and impact of their own, and that they can, indeed, interact with the individual patient or therapist to effect changes in behavior. In effect, they take on a personal manifestation. One need make only a small step from this point to posit the existence of positive spiritual beings, angels in the classical Christian lexicon, that may interact with human beings at a para- or supra-psychological level. And if one can so speculate about positive spiritual forces, it follows that the same may apply to negative ones.

Beyond these conceptual frontiers that have been opened up in some contemporary circles of psychological thought, breakthroughs of a more concrete kind have also been made that give us new insight into demonology. Therapists have for many years commented on the unusual amount of religious language and religious experience associated with schizophrenic patients. Furthermore, the frequent exchange between schizophrenic patients and demonic beings that prompt them to evil behavior is a typical symptom of schizophrenic delusion. Recently, in view of these observations, two investigators have treated reports of demonic experience as though they were indeed true, assuming that evil can exist in the form of a spiritual entity and assuming that there are a logic and consistent intent behind the actions of these entities that affect human beings. Their findings are startling and challenging.

One of these individuals, a clinical psychologist, studied with care the voices heard by his patients in a state mental institution in Northern California. He found that the messages conveyed to patients by these voices were not the kind of random information that one might expect from "psychological disorientation," but that they contained very specific, directed, and logical instructions. Of particular interest is the fact that these voices were of a positive and negative kind, of "higher" and "lower" order, as this investigator classifies them. One patient, for example, "... heard the lower order

[voices] arguing for a long time about how they would murder him. [However] he also had a light come to him at night, like the sun. He knew it was a different order because the light respected his freedom and would withdraw if it frightened him." The positive voices heard by patients, though of great importance, are not here our concern. The negative voices heard by patients, however, are described as follows: "They suggest lewd acts and then scold the patient for considering them. They find a weak point of conscience and work on it interminably. . . . They have a persistent will to destroy. . . . They work on every weakness and belief, claim awesome powers, lie, make promises, and then undermine the patient's will. . . . To one person they appeared as conventional devils and referred to themselves as demons."¹²

If these kinds of data baffle and astound the laymen, they should occasion circumspection in the mental health profession. The things which these voices attack and undermine are the very psychic elements necessary to the restoration of mental health: self-control, good self-esteem, consistency, and resoluteness of will. There is a pattern of destructive attack in the so-called "lower" voices heard by these patients that stands in diametrical opposition to the chaotic, unsound, illogical reports, as we have noted, that we might expect from disoriented individuals. More importantly, however, these voices seek to guide and to control the behavior of individuals, preying on their weaknesses and confusion and seeking, by their own admission, even to murder patients. If these voices are the result of hallucinations and delusional states, it must at least be admitted that there is a pattern to their messages that seems to stand independent of the patient himself. We might call this independent element a demon. Such an hypothesis gives an uncanny significance to the words of Saint Peter: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may

¹²W. Van Dusen, *The Presence of Other Worlds* (New York, 1974), pp. 120ff.

devour. . . .¹³

The foregoing evidence is unsettling. But it still rests on the self-report of mental patients themselves. This is not a demonstration of the existence of demons, nor does it suggest that the demons seen by mental patients have any relation to those demonic beings found in the Gospel or in the Orthodox patristic witness and in experiences reported by so-called mentally stable individuals. To draw a parallel between what the mentally ill report and demons in general, someone beside the patient would have to be involved in an encounter with the demons reported by the patient. Precisely this evidence, in fact, is presented to us by a Harvard-trained psychiatrist, M. Scott Peck. In his best-seller, *People of the Lie*, Dr. Peck claims to have seen the demonic entities which influence certain patients, the demons often manifesting themselves in grotesque contortions of these patients' features.¹⁴ The same beast-like, reptilian demons described by the church Fathers are described in this book, along with the same feeling of intense fear, cold, and horror associated with demonic encounters found in much spiritual literature. Though a non-denominational Christian believer, Dr. Peck approaches his subject with an objective, careful precision that rules out any reasonable suspicions of his own mental health or susceptibility to hysterical contagion or the like. One must simply conclude that an intelligent, mentally stable, well-trained psychiatrist has, indeed, seen the demonic entities which his patients claim are besetting and tormenting them. This suggests that the demonological phenomena reported in the gospels and in Orthodox and other spiritual literature are not absurd. *Pace* Bultmann!

Now, I have suggested that this recent evidence in the psychological literature, which approaches demonological phenomena as though they were real, affords us the opportunity to reassess our accepted scientific paradigms and

¹³1 Pet. 5.8.

¹⁴M. Scott Peck, *People of the Lie: The Hope for Healing Human Evil* (Greenville, NC, 1983).

assumptions. It seems to me that it would be fruitful for us to reassess the patristic cosmology of the Eastern Church and draw from it a psychological model that can encompass the reality of demons and the effects of demonic forces on human behavior, both normal and psychopathic. We can begin by reiterating what it is that the Eastern Fathers consider the ideal human, the restored individual. Such an individual, through the interplay of divine grace and human efforts toward the good, through spiritual synergy, overcomes the passions and the effects of sin, becoming, even on earth, an imitator of the perfection of Christ, yet subject but resistant to sin. This divinized human being, having experienced *theosis* and being united to Christ, participates in the energies of the divine, according to the promise put forth in Scripture "... That ... ye might be partakers of the divine nature" ("... ἵνα ... γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως").¹⁵ His mind is restored to its original purity and wholeness, to the natural state for which so many prayers of the Orthodox Church entreat, characteristic among them the following from the prayers of thanksgiving after Communion and from Compline ('Απόδειπνον) respectively: "... Give me compunction and contrition of heart, humility in my thoughts, and the recall of my reasoning powers (τῶν λογισμῶν) from their captivity;" "... and grant to us, O God, a watchful mind [γρήγορον νοῦν] [and] a prudent reason [σώφρονα λογισμόν]."

The path to salvation and enlightenment, then, is, for the Eastern Fathers, preeminently psychological. Above all, to paraphrase the *Φιλοκαλία*, it involves the cleansing of the mind, the attainment of the mind of Christ, and victory over the passions and over all evil that impedes one's participation in the Divine — the natural state in which man was originally created. The normal human being, by virtue of his reason and by virtue of the self-control that this reason facilitates, is constantly involved in a struggle with fallen nature, reaching upwards toward the paradigm of natural personhood which is actualized by Christ, witnessed by the

¹⁵² Pet. 1.4.

Apostles, codified and taught by the Fathers, exemplified in the saints, and contained within the icon of the Deity which indwells every human. To the extent that the mind can grasp, digest, and strive after this natural personhood, the grace of God strengthens, encourages, protects, and deifies it. To the extent that it deviates from the vision of Personhood and pursues that which is inconsistent with it, the mind is subject to the evil forces of human disintegration and destruction that lie in Satan and which are effected by the actions and intentions of his demons. That which is compatible with the natural man as revealed in Christ and in the Christian message leads one to a transformation of fallen man and his restoration to right understanding. That which is at odds with such a vision leads to destruction, chaos.

The disjunction of mental processes from a clear and healthy vision of the natural state of man — whether because of distorted religious belief, a complete capitulation to the passions and the lower side of human nature, or even a biochemical or organic disorder — leads, in the teaching of the Eastern church Fathers, to what we would today call mental illness. Satan and demonic powers hold full sway over such individuals, and their psychopathological visions of demons and such are largely the consequences of an inability to reason and to think aright in synergy with God's grace. Mental disease, then, if not spiritual in etiology, at least manifests itself in spiritual dimensions. Is it any wonder, then, that mental patients, even those without religious beliefs or backgrounds, so often speak in religious images and see and feel the influence of demons?

In the controlled conditions of monastic life and, indeed, in the religious lives of more intensely spiritual lay people, demons also manifest themselves and make their powers known. But they do not achieve the effects of disintegration and destruction in the psyche which we find in psychopathological cases, the Fathers teach, because the religious aspirant who participates in the sacramental life of the Church and who has a spiritual guide is constantly in contact with the constructive and integrating forces of grace. Moreover,

intense spiritual life in the Christian East has always focused on two things: the Prayer of Jesus, the core of the so-called hesychastic tradition, and fasting. In the hesychastic teachings of the Orthodox Church, championed in the brilliant fourteenth-century Saint Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonike, the prayer of Jesus focuses the mind on the prayer, "Lord, Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy on me a sinner." This prayer, often called the Gospel in miniature, calls the mind away from any imaginative experiences, precludes contemplative speculation, and demands pure concentration on the power of the Christian dispensation, the restoration of sinners in Christ. Certain physical practices, including controlled breathing, help the body to focus the attentive powers of the mind, and thus hold off the negative effects of demonic or destructive forces which may seek to impede spiritual progress. The purity of mental processes, therefore, plays an important role in the psychological dimensions of the spiritual aspirant's resistance to evil.

With regard to fasting, even lay people in the Orthodox Church are called to fast from meat, fish, dairy products, and olive oil on most Wednesdays and Fridays and during the lenten periods preceding Pascha (Easter), the feast of the Apostles, the Dormition of the Theotokos, and the Nativity (Christmas). The eminent Orthodox writer, Constantine Cavarinos, equally fluent in Greek and English, has made some trenchant observations about the importance of fasting in the Greek religious periodical, *'Ορθόδοξος Τύπος*.¹⁶ Dr. Cavarinos notes that fasting can restore impaired mental, as well as physical functioning and, most interestingly, cites the work of two psychiatrists, Dr. Allan Cott of New York City and Dr. Yuri Nikolaieff of the Psychiatric Institute of Moscow, who have in recent years reported astounding success in treating schizophrenics with fasting — in this case with total abstinence from food. Delusional fantasies, indeed, seem to

¹⁶See my English translation of the relevant passages from these articles in C. Cavarinos, "Fasting and Science." *Orthodox Tradition*, 5, 1, pp. 36-37.

subside with something so simple as fasting.

If we turn to the psychological paradigm which I have extracted from the Fathers, both the teachings of Christ and the Fathers' explications of those teachings take on new dimensions and suggest new areas for thought. Can we not look with renewed interest at Christ's statement to his doubting Disciples that certain kinds of demons are cast "... not out but by prayer and fasting?"¹⁷ Indeed, patristic references such as the following, from Saint Diadochos of Photike, in his essay on spiritual knowledge, also take on new meaning: "... When, because of the presence of grace, Satan can lurk no longer in the intellect of those pursuing a spiritual way, he lurks in the body and exploits its humors, so that through its proclivities he may seduce the soul. We should therefore weaken the body [by such ascetic practices as fasting] to some extent, so that the intellect does not slide down the smooth path of sensual pleasure because of the body's humors."¹⁸ Studying the Orthodox Church's teachings on demonology from a psychological perspective — and one expansive enough to accommodate both these teachings and recent observations by more open-minded psychologists —, we not only come to see that demons may in fact exist, but also that their effects on human behavior, at least under conditions of healthy psychological functioning, can be controlled, monitored, and observed. And certainly what can be controlled, monitored, and observed should not be relegated to the pages of history or to some arena reserved for the superstitious and primitive. Unless we examine seriously the metaphysical tension between good and evil reified in the human struggle for enlightenment and victory over the darkness which dwells in the human soul, we may make a very grave error. As the eminent church historian, Jeffrey Russell, has noted in the context of his celebrated studies of the history of the devil, Satan's greatest victory over mankind may be simply that of convincing the world that he does not indeed exist.

¹⁷Mt. 17.21

¹⁸*Philokalia*, p. 283.

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Brothers Karamazov. It is evident that the visiting theologian has been schooled in the social activist tradition of modern Western theology; but he is, sadly, not even conscious of how his orientation has severely biased his basic understanding of Christian purpose. Indeed, even his conceptualization of corporal works of mercy (i.e., charity) is a myopic view subtly held captive to an underlying materialistic mindset. The polite discourse between the theologian and monk also addresses such issues as the value of asceticism in the modern age, grace versus works, and the meaning of the solitary life. The monk's responses also hint of another source of knowledge (not attainable to the theologian through his academic pursuits), a mystic knowledge won only by prayer and spiritual struggle.

The translator, Bishop Chrysostomos, deserves our thanks for introducing the English-speaking world to the writings of Metropolitan Cyprian. The translation flows smoothly without the occurrences of awkward or vague transliterations that often plague such efforts. We can only hope that the translator will find time in his busy schedule to provide us with other such spiritually edifying works by the metropolitan of Fili.

Thomas C. Brecht
Birmingham, Alabama

Dialogues in a Monastery. By Constantine Tsatsos. Translated from the original Greek by Jean Demos. Preface by John Brademas. Brookline, MA.: Hellenic College Press, 1986. Pp. xii + 182. Cloth, \$15.95; paper, \$10.95.

Dialogues in a Monastery is not a new book. It was first published in Greek in Athens in 1974. A sixth Greek edition was published in 1983 and a French translation appeared in 1976 in Paris with the title *Dialogues au Monastère* under the auspices of the Société Les Belles Lettres. It is only appropriate that an English translation also circulate, since the late Constantine Tsatsos, who in 1975 became the first President of the Hellenic Republic, was one of Greece's most

distinguished men of letters and intellectuals. His wife is Ioanna Seferiades Tsatsou, the sister of Nobel Prize winner George Seferis, with whom he had many debates and dialogues over the roles of poetry and philosophy.

The scene of *Dialogues in a Monastery* is set in a small monastery in the Southern Peloponnesos in the middle of this century. It is cast in the form of a Platonic dialogue, which gives the author the flexibility to present a variety of opposing theological, philosophical, and historical views in full perspective. The principal characters are the Abbot Synesios, who has invited his contemporaries and colleagues, most of whom have had strong German academic experiences, to spend time with him in contemplation and discussion: Costas Ipliksis is a professor of Philosophy at the University of Thessalonike; Gustav Harrer, a professor of Philosophy at the University of Heidelberg; Johann Manhorst, a professor of Classical Literature at the University of Tübingen; Jacques Basset, a professor of History at the University of Nancy; and the Monk Sophronios. Synesios tries to direct his colleagues to the centrality of God in human life and the necessity for recognizing "that the progress to God is the supreme obligation of humanity, of the totality of human beings who are conscious of their existence. And this obligation is fulfilled by worthy work, worthy deeds, worthy struggles" (p. 87). Harrer insists that each person is an individual and that "we have the soul, each soul separate, each man separate, this multitude of miserable isolated existences" (ibid.) and acknowledges God, "but not the personal God of Christian dogma, God in the broadest conception possible to human thought. Without this God, the chaos, the despair, the negation, the dark marks of our epoch are all justified" (p. 144). Manhorst argues that there are many roads "which lead to God" and we can "help our fellow human beings complete this great journey, a journey without return, because once having succeeded, no one goes back, nor has reason to" (p. 179). Ipliksis had argues that "every soul is a history, like the whole of humanity. The mission of every soul, as of

humanity, is Perfection, the Absolute'' (p. 91). Basset talks of the historian's need to put historical material in order and start from a fixed point, and concedes that dialogue with his colleagues has caused him to rethink the whole concept of history.

Finally, though each has discussed and developed his own point of view, Synesios concludes "we have agreed on the greatest — on humanity. Each of us respects the humanity of the other. That is to say that we respect in each one the spark enclosed within him, the spark from God's light" (p. 182).

Of course, *Dialogues in a Monastery* shows Tsatsos exploring different philosophical and theological points of view in pursuit of the truth through his dialogical characters. Certainly, Jean Demos' smooth translation is excellent in providing English readers with ready access to one of Greece's most provocative thinkers. For this we are indeed grateful.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

The Fathers Speak: St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa. Selected Letters and Life-Records. Translated from the Greek with an introduction by George A. Barrois and with a Foreword by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 224. 1 map. Paper, \$8.95.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life. Trans. Catharine P. Roth and David Anderson. Introduction by Catharine P. Roth. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 114. Paper.

The House of Holy Wisdom: A Homily on Proverbs 9. By Father Bessarion [Agioantonides]. Foreword by Chrysostomos, Bishop of Oreoi. Alamogordo, NM.: Saint Anthony the Great Orthodox Publications, 1987. Pp. 56, including illustrations. Paper, \$8.00.

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Reviews

Greeks and Latins on Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century. By Miltiades B. Efthimiou. Brookline, Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1987. Pp. 200. Map + 15 plates. Paper \$14.95. Cloth \$22.95.

The present book is a revised and illustrated version of Father Milton Efthimiou's doctoral dissertation at Miami University of Oxford, Ohio. The reader will soon discover this as he attempts to read through a book in which more pages are dedicated to notes, bibliography, and index (182 pages) than are to text (109 pages). Nevertheless, the author, who is currently Executive Director of the Department of Church and Society of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and Executive Officer of the Order of St. Andrew and has edited with G. Christopoulos a *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, has earnestly striven to make his book accessible and attractive to the non-specialist by focusing on the theme of the "Kingdom of God" and the convictions that "Christianity as a movement cannot be represented in terms of simple progress in either an other-worldly or a this-worldly direction, nor can it be stated only in terms of canons and rules which always imply a static view" (p. 12) and that "the study of thirteenth-century Cyprus is that true Christianity cannot be understood except on the basis of faith in a sovereign, living, and loving God" and that "the history of mediaeval Cyprus, of the interaction between Greek East and Latin West, leads one to the history

of the Kingdom of God" (p. 14). Some readers will find it difficult to see how Father Efthimiou has demonstrated this in what follows.

What follows are six compact chapters entitled: "Cyprus Prior to the Fourth Crusade"; "Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century"; "Cyprus and Constantinople"; "Cyprus and Latin Theocracy"; "Orthodox and Latins: Ecclesiastical Differences"; and "Byzantines and Latins: Political Differences." What is revealed is that the Crusaders who set out to recapture the Holy Land from the Muslims turned upon the Byzantine Empire, sacked its Orthodox Christian capital, Constantinople, established a Latin Patriarchate, subdued and feudalized Cyprus, made its Greek Orthodox clergy and bishops subservient to Latin bishops, and having failed to conquer the Muslims or disestablish their power in Palestine, turned their wrath and savagery against fellow Christians whom they often treated in more barbarous ways than any infidels. "Cyprus, then, played a significant role in thirteenth-century crusading history from the establishment of the Latin Church in 1196 to the fall of the Latin states on the mainland. In its institutions the Kingdom of Cyprus became an heir of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople and the Kingdom of Jerusalem" (p. 51), to cite Dr. Efthimiou's well-chosen words. Though the Greeks benefited to some extent, from the balance of power between the Lusignan state and the Latin Church, the *Haute Cour* (composed of the entire body of barons, who possessed executive, legal, and judicial powers and presided over by the King himself), provided some mediating relief. Baldwin, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, in the *Partitio Romaniae*, was shown to have secular priorities, which Pope Innocent III found disturbing, as he did the sack of Constantinople, which he decried. A new social order emerged that had been established by the Franks, based on the Latin empire of Constantinople, and the crown and barons occupied lands that had been the property of Greek churches and monasteries prior to the French occupation.

Greek Cyprus was crushed, despite the belief that the "crusades and the Latin states in the East sought the ultimate unity, the destruction of evil and the reign of God" but this belief was based on the premise that the East had to be conquered and made to submit to the papacy. The Greeks and Greek Cyprus stood in the way before *sacerdotium* (as manifested in the Church) and *imperium* (as manifested in the Latin emperor) could be joined in their common goal. Father Efthimiou notes that "The history of thirteenth-century Cyprus shows the result of *sacerdotium*'s asserting its authority over *imperium* in the West, when the popes had, in fact, become the sole spokesmen for Western Christendom" (p. 86). The attempt to settle differences in relationships between the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches in the *Constitutio Cypria* failed to eliminate the seeds of controversy, which Father Efthimiou does not fail to discuss in some detail.

The Fourth Crusade marked the beginning of the end for a military force that was prepared to defend the interests of a theocracy. Instead of uniting East and West, the results were just the opposite: Cyprus was caught in the middle of this struggle and on it the legal institutions of the crusaders reached the limit of their development only to be followed by stasis and decay.

Greeks and Latins on Cyprus underlines ways in which "the Kingdom of God" cannot be reached and recalls for us the bitter experience of Greek Cypriots and the trying experience of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus, and the ability of both to retain and preserve their own identity to the present day.

John E. Rexine
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Ἡ περὶ παιδείας θεωρία τοῦ Βενιαμὶν Λεσβίου [*The Educational Philosophy of Benjamin of Lesbos*]. By Constantine Cavarnos. Athens: Ekdoseis "Orthodoxou Typou," 1984. Pp. 64. Paper.

Constantine Cavarnos has brought to the attention of Western scholars many significant and pivotal figures in Byzantine letters who have been injudiciously (and even systematically) ignored in general historical studies. One such figure is Benjamin of Lesbos, whose theory of education [I have called this his "philosophy" of education, in translating the Greek] presents us with a clear portrayal of the subtle polish of the Byzantine-formed, modern Greek mind. That figures like Benjamin and studies like those of Cavarnos have not caused a revolution in Western thought is not so much a tragedy for Greek studies as it is for the modern West, which simply fails to benefit from an undiscovered source of intellectual wealth.

Benjamin of Lesbos flourished at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was instrumental in the introduction of the modern sciences into Greece. A man of wide learning, his philosophy of education extended over vast areas of human learning and was rooted in an understanding both of the ascendancy of man and the primacy of God. In many ways, his modern Greek educational theories reflect the Byzantine notion of man as the image of God — and thus worthy of study and attention in and of himself — and of God as an integral and transcendent element in the understanding of man. These anthropological and cosmological notions of "complementation," as it were, extend to learning, where Benjamin, educated in physics and mathematics, emphasizes the absolute importance and ascendancy of philosophy (metaphysics) over the natural sciences — though, again, not in a tension-ridden scheme of opposing conceptualizations and theories, but in a complementary context of intellectual harmony.

In this small book, which I hope eventually to translate into English, with the author's permission, we find not only

a concise statement of Benjamin's philosophy of education — set forth with the expertism, precision, and thoroughness typical of Cavarnos' scholarship — but a carefully selected compendium of passages from some of Benjamin's more important works.

I heartily recommend Dr. Cavarnos' little book to the scholar and general reader alike. It contains a wealth of information about a figure whose impact on our modern thinking is tragically limited. Books like this go a long way in expanding our thought and overcoming such limitations.

Bishop Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Studies

The Myth of Christian Uniqueness: Toward a Pluralistic Theology of Religion. By John Hick and Paul Knitter. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 1987. \$12.95.

During the entire history of Christianity, the Church has lived side by side with convinced believers of other religions. In Asia and since the rise of Islam, there have been intense relationships with communities of faith which have shown no inclination to accept the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In recent years, this situation has become more commonplace even in the West.

This volume of essays by Western Christian theologians is an attempt to address a theology which will give an equal place in God's plan to this reality of other religions in our pluralistic world. For this reason, it is a thoroughly christological treatment on soteriology even when the essays do not treat the biblical and patristic bases which could serve their arguments. In fact, it is amazing that the centuries of experience of churches who have lived intimately — if not often comfortably — with convinced believers of other religions are not drawn upon. There are rich patristic and medieval resources for theologies of Christianity vis-à-vis world religions that can serve well our common calling to dialogue and to fidelity to the apostolic Faith.

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Homily 34 of Saint Gregory Palamas

DANIEL ROGICH

“No one has ever seen God” (John 1.18; 1 John 4.12).

“whom no man has ever seen or can see” (1 Timothy 6.16).

“Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God” (Matthew 5.8).

“we shall see him as he is” (1 John 3.12).

“and become partakers of divine nature” (2 Peter 1.4).

“being transformed from glory to glory” (2 Corinthians 3.18).

FOR THE ENTIRE EASTERN CHRISTIAN TRADITION, THE question of the vision of God, i.e., who God is, is quite a serious matter. It provides both the content and the context for all other theological discussion and understanding: anthropology, ecclesiology, the art of prayer, ecclesiastical discipline, sacramentology, etc. How one defines who God is has forever been, in the East, the criterion for evaluating one's beliefs, i.e., whether they be Orthodox or not. As a result, a strong emphasis on defending the Christian faith, on preserving that which has been received, has characterized virtually all theological thought in the East. These two poles, “defending and defining” the faith, have created a type of ecclesiastical *phronema* which has produced the great Christian dogmas

and formulations: the decisions of the ecumenical synods, providing the Church with both a model and method for deciding what is proper, fitting, and adequate (θεοπρεπείς) to believe, along with delineating the parameters (ὅρος πίστεως) for theological prolegomena and opinion. Hence, the Eastern Christian tradition has always strived for consistency, fittingness, and boundaries in discussing theology, particularly and foremost in the area of the vision of God.

In the second half of the fourteenth century these two poles of "defending and defining" the faith were intensified once again. The theological controversies which arose at this time, triggering this intensification, were centered around the nature of the light of the transfiguration of Christ — controversies which divided the followers of the dogmatic tradition of the Christian East from certain rationalizing theologians. The issue

concerned the reality of the mystical experience, the possibility of conscious communion with God, and the nature of grace — whether it is created or uncreated. The questions of man's ultimate destiny, his beatitude, and deification, were at stake. It was a conflict between mystical theology and a religious philosophy: the God of revelation and of religious experience was confronted with the God of the philosophers, on the battlefield of mysticism.¹

In this battle, the monk Gregory Palamas found himself defending certain fundamental positions on prayer found in the Eastern tradition; and, forced to be a theologian,² he went

¹Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, NY., 1976), pp. 220-21.

²It must be affirmed that in the East doctrine and spirituality are never separated. They may be distinct, but they always "feed" upon one another. Thus, the well-known saying of the Desert Fathers, "He who prays is a theologian, and a theologian is he who prays." See a wonderful exposition on the interplay between dogma and spirituality in Archimandrite Justin Popovich's "Introduction" to the *Lives of the Saints* (Belgrade, 1972), vol. 1 = January, pp. 14f. (in Serbian), where he calls a saint a "living dogma" and a "unique orthodox pedagogue." Cf. *Mystical Theology*, pp. 7-24 where Lossky defines what exactly is "mystical

on to define and elaborate more fully a vision of God which put to nought the "wisdom of men," primarily by rejecting their philosophical notion of the created nature of deifying grace, something which appeared "foolishness" to the Eastern tradition. The debate, then, was related to a religious question of first order: how can God's unknowable nature be reconciled with that which can be known in him, his incommunicability with the possibility of actually communing with him? The biblical verses given above capsulize the conflict; and, as a result of this intriguing and penetrating question, several councils between 1340 and 1360 met.³ Many treatises, correspondence, and apologies were written; and an Hagioretic Tome was published, in order to once again "defend and define" that which was received from the Fathers, setting the parameters for theological discussion, theorizing, and experience.

What, therefore, is the vision of God according to Gregory Palamas? And what is his teaching on the metaphoric light which the apostles saw on Mount Tabor? To answer these questions, we have attached below an English translation of the Greek text of Palamas Homily 34: Εἰς τὴν σεπτὴν Μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐν ᾗ παράστασις, ὅτι τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν φῶς ἄχιστόν ἐστι [On the Venerable Transfiguration of Our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, In Which It Is Substantiated that His Light Is Uncreated].⁴ This writing was chosen because it deals directly with the subject and also presents the style and

theology." Also, see a fine treatise on this interplay by a Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. William M. Thompson, *Fire and Light: The Saints and Theology* (New York, 1985), where he deals with the issue of mysticism and experience and speaks of the *perichoresis* of theology and sanctity, of the experience of the saints as a proper *theologicus locus*.

³The Councils of 1341, 1347, and 1351 have, of course, been included in the corpus of Orthodox dogmatic teaching.

⁴PG 151.424-36. Palamas' other homily on the Transfiguration is found in PG 151.436-49. The latter stresses that the light of the Transfiguration is not identical with the essence (οὐσία) of God.

language of Palamas with the emphasis distinctly placed on practicality. The homily, of course, is of exhortative character, and is freer in style than a systematic treatise. Moreover, it is pleasant and edifying to read. What we propose to do, then, in a most tentative fashion, is to present Gregory's vision, to explain his defense by defining his opponents, and to reveal the consistency in what he believed was proper and fitting of Orthodoxy. We will also have in mind how Palamas' teaching can be and is relevant for us today, and how an existential theology such as his can be a model and method for detecting "other" visions of God which might not be acceptable in his terms. For it would do harm to make Palamas simply a relic and "museum piece" of the past. We will, therefore, investigate six areas which Homily 34 touches upon in order to illuminate Palamas' vision, i.e., that the light of the Transfiguration is uncreated (of God's nature) and is, at the same time, the basis of our knowledge of and communion with God — metamorphical theosis. The areas are: 1) the nature of theology; 2) prayer; 3) eschatological light; 4) pneumatological light; 5) christological light; and 6) trinitarian light.

The Nature of Theology.

The basis of all Christian theology is the revelation of God, the Holy Trinity. Theology, properly defined, is the knowledge of the mystery of the Holy Trinity as revealed to the Church; yet, this knowledge, particularly emphasized in the Christian East, is known as an entrance into union with God, which means the attainment of deification. To become "partakers of divine nature" (θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως), as Saint Peter says, is then a mystical knowledge appealing to experience (πείρα), which presupposes and results in an inexhaustive and continual progression of change — "from glory to glory" — in human beings, a theosis of evermore intimate union with the Holy Trinity.⁵ The equation, theology = knowledge = union = theosis = change from glory to glory, capsulizes, in a sense,

⁵Vladimir Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 67.

the object, definition, method, and nature of the theological endeavor and Christian life in Eastern Christian thought.

For Gregory Palamas, this type of thinking was the basis of his life's work and teaching. His giving up the "secular" life and becoming a monk on Mount Athos represented to him and to his contemporaries an impressive and radical stand for this type of thinking and belief. As a result, his first theological studies and treatises were written in opposition to profane philosophy and its dialectical method as a means to express who God is. As a matter of fact, in Byzantium, which knew no scholastic philosophy, the division between philosophers and theologians, contrary to the West, was always a great one. Any philosophical theorizing concerning knowledge of God had to be, at best, incomplete. In this sense, had Saint Thomas Aquinas lived in the East, he would have never fought Averroism in the name of a Christian philosophy. Yet, it is certainly unfair to call the opponents of Palamas — Barlaam the Calabrian, Akindynos, and Nikephoros Gregoras — "Byzantine Thomists," as representatives of Western thought, for their primary error, in the mind of Palamas, had Eastern roots. These humanists in theologians' garb, shaped by their philosophical training, sought "to see the Cappadocians through the eyes of Plato, Dionysios through the eyes of Proklos, Maximos and Damascene through the eyes of Aristotle."⁶ This "intellectualism," as Lossky puts it, resulted in a knowledge "about" God, i.e., as a result of the dialectical method, which in fact made impossible the continuation of the above equation, knowledge = union = theosis, etc. Yet, Palamas was not anti-philosophy, as he too was weaned on Aristotle; but he felt it was limited. He was, instead, protecting against an extreme form of natural law, which today reappears in such beliefs as extreme Deism and nominalism. As Palamas writes:

The aim of profane philosophy, by which means we examine the laws of nature and of movement, analogies, and the configurations and quantities of the indivisibly

⁶Lossky, *The Vision of God* (Crestwood, 1983) p. 156.

divisible parts of matter, is the study of the truth which lies in existing things. When this study consciously goes beyond the truth which is within its scope, it is perfidious and deceives its hearers; if it does this unintentionally, it is a stranger to philosophy and void of understanding.⁷

Palamas, then, allowed for philosophical work and (scientific) research, but within a limited area and not to be taken as formulating absolutes, particularly in the area of the vision of God. "To know God," writes Gregory, "and to know man himself and the dignity belonging to him . . . that is, knowledge superior to physiology, astronomy, and all philosophy linked to such sciences; moreover, it is more profitable to our understanding if we recognize its weaknesses and try to cure that rather than to know and study the greatness of the stars."⁸ Therefore, returning to Homily 34, we find Gregory first attacking the "wise men of the Greeks" (οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοί), calling them potential polytheists and pantheists, "worshiping the creature rather than the Creator," being "against the Spirit" (κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος). These theologians, "pretending to follow the words of the teaching (of the Fathers), repudiate, then, the pious meaning" (καὶ τὰς μὲν τῷ γράμματι λέξεις περιέπειν ὑποκρινομένους, τὴν δὲ εὐσεβῆ διάνοιαν ἀνωθυμμένους), and thus, are full of "death-bearing poison"; and, according to their philosophy, declare that the divine light seen by the apostles on Mount Tabor is both sensory and created (τὸ αἰσθητὸν εὐθὺς καὶ κτιστόν). Their belief that "God makes himself known only through his creatures,"⁹ predicates that if God became known to the apostles on Mount Tabor through the light of Christ, then that light had to be created. Palamas answers this claim, in Homily 34 and throughout his writings, by a constant appeal to the patristic tradition (ταῖς Πατρικαῖς παραδόταις) — "as we have been taught from those who have

⁷Saint Gregory Palamas, *Against Akindynos* 6.98, vol.149v.

⁸Idem. *Physical Chapters* 29, PG 150.1140C.

⁹Idem. *Triads* 2.3.64.

been illumined by Christ'' (ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φωτισθέντων). Not proposing something novel or innovative (as the philosopher opponents claimed he did, believing their philosophical method and standards to be of the Tradition), his claim is that the knowledge of God is "beyond the senses and words and the intellect" (ὑπὲρ αἰσθησιν καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ὑπὲρ διάνοιαν). This is particularly important in our contemporary world when the Christian faith must be defended and defined in relation to the the philosophies of the age and, most importantly, in our dealing with the social and physical sciences and secular education in general. Palamas indicates that the message of salvation must and can be redefined in modern times (in the fullest sense), but the risk involved is the potential reduction and distortion of the faith. Hence, any belief that the way to God as essentially being a natural gnosis, foreign to any specifically Christian supernatural life, i.e., the coming of grace through Jesus Christ and the mystical experience, must be guarded against.¹⁰ And, it was along these lines, the art of mystical experience and the ascetic life — prayer — that the major differences between Palamas and his hesychast brothers and their philosophical opponents became clearly visible; for the true definition of a theologian to the hesychasts was summarized in the well-known saying of the desert Fathers: "a theologian is he who prays and he who prays is a theologian."

Prayer

It is not coincidental that the second phase of the argument between Gregory Palamas and Barlaam centered around the issue of prayer and the ascetic life. The monks, after refuting Barlaam's philosophical method of knowledge of God, were then attacked by him since they claimed a supreme reality of a mystical knowledge of God, whose beginning method for, and means to, was grounded and effected in prayer. Barlaam's "knowledge of God only through the creatures," a

¹⁰John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (Crestwood, 1974), p. 127.

philosophical notion based on profane Hellenism, forced him to be, in the eyes of the hesychasts, an extreme natural legalist, an unenlightened humanist and Deist, and, finally, a sceptical anti-biblical nominalist; and, as they believed, it forced him to deny the most essential Christian dogmas, which, we must add, were genuinely defended and defined by Gregory Palamas within the all-important context of prayer.

Barlaam first attacked the monks for claiming, following as they believed the experience had on Mount Tabor, a material vision of God. Hence, the charge of Messalianism was proclaimed, i.e., seeing the essence of God. The debate, now a particular one concerning the nature of the mystical and religious experience — firmly rooted within the expertise of the hesychast Palamas — centered on the nature of the light the apostles saw and in which Christ appeared on the mount. The light must be created, according to Barlaam, if we know something about God from it. The Synod in Constantinople in 1341 dealt doctrinally with the issue, stating that, during prayer, the possibility was open to all to really commune with God, i.e., that the divine light can be seen by the bodily eyes to those who are purified. What was at stake were the biblical doctrines of man, the body's part in personal prayer, and the nature of grace.

For Gregory Palamas, there are two ways in which man can be united with God: through communion of the divine virtues, and second, through the communion "of supplication and union during prayer to God."¹¹ The conscious acquisition of virtues is a preparatory means of theosis, but "the power of prayer . . . fulfills the sacrament of our union with God, because it is a bond connecting rational creatures with their Creator." Prayer is more perfect than the practice of virtues, for it is the "leader of the choir of virtues" (χορυφαῖος τις τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν).¹² Love, the greatest virtue, is itself the fruit of prayer (ἡ ἀγάπη ἐκ τῆς εὐχῆς). It is

¹¹Saint Gregory Palamas, *On Prayer and Purity of Heart*, PG 150.1117D.

¹²Saint Gregory of Nyssa, *On Christian Institutes*, PG 96.301D.

here that Homily 34 provides us with Palamas' refutation of Barlaam's charges. Gregory refutes Barlaam by giving us two reasons why Jesus prayed: for although "He himself was in no need of prayer, the body being illumined by the divine light; rather, he showed, therefore, that the radiance of God has come to the saints, and [he] manifested in what manner it became visible to them" (διὸ οὐδὲ προσευχῆς αὐτὸς ἐδεῖτο, θεῖῳ φωτὶ λαμπρυνούσης τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ ὅθεν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἡ λαμπρότης τοῦ θεοῦ προσγενήσεται, καὶ ὁπῆς αὐτοῖς ὀφθήσεται ὑπεδείκνυ.).

In prayer, as when Moses conversed with God, the entire person is changed — as much as is capable in created nature — being, as the homily states, "saturated in his own vision as by a certain splendidous refreshment." Prayer is essential for this vision of God; and, during the course of prayer, one is transformed "from the flesh to the Spirit" (ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα), being illumined and able to see, by the bodily eyes, that which is beyond the senses, words, and the intellect. Palamas eloquently preaches: "Then, while he prayed, he thus 'radiated,' and inexpressibly unveiled to the chosen disciples that inexpressible light (τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐκεῖνο φῶς), in the presence of the utmost prophets, in order to show that prayer is the cause of this blessed vision, and, so that we may learn that the radiance is a result of, and is revealed through, virtuous intimacy with God and of the mind's union with him, given and visible to all those who are unceasingly purposed toward God, through genuine beneficence and through sincere prayer." It is statements like these that help us date Homily 34 (and 35) as being written and/or preached around 1341, the time of the first council between Palamas and his opponents, for the council's primary concern was over the question of real communion with God in prayer, dealing with Barlaam's charge of Messalianism against the hesychasts. Also, an important point must be made here concerning the doctrine of man inherent in such discussions on prayer. In Barlaam's "super" natural law schema, there is no room for

sin,¹³ and thus no need for the ascetic life in order to demonstrate both the existence of God and knowledge of him. Perhaps this is the real line of demarcation separating the Athonite monks and the religious philosophers: the hesychasts affirmed, following Eastern tradition, that the practice of virtues and, above all, prayer — the ascetic life — were all-important in knowing God and being in communion with him, not the knowledge of God which proceeds from dialectical philosophical method and/or the physical sciences. “This power,” Gregory teaches, “is not given simply to those who are (exist), but to those who stand with the Lord . . . firm in his faith . . . to those who have risen above our physical debasement.” Thus, man, being made very good by God, nevertheless “lies in sin,” and must return once again, through repentance, prayer, and the ascetic effort, to the kingdom of God which is within. Having purified himself of all physical debasement, he then can rise above and transcend himself (his senses and intellect) and receive that power of the divine Spirit which will enable him to see God, to be in union with him, through the uncreated energies, which are, as Palamas writes, “that which is around the divine and blessed nature (τὸ περὶ τὴν θεϊὰν καὶ μακαρίαν φύσιν ἐστίν). Finally, it must be affirmed that Palamas never approved of or permitted any type of esoteric “private” prayer, as he constantly placed personal prayer within the context of the Church’s sacramental life, i.e., baptism and eucharist primarily, and all other services. Prayer, in Gregory’s terms, is neither an experience characterized by sensual emotionalism, nor thought of as a type of transcendent intellectual and gnostic escapism. It must always be checked against the Church’s liturgical life and measured by the experience of the saints and mystics. Thus, Gregory would disapprove of any “separatist” prayer life, or anything at odds with the Church’s liturgical tradition; and he would consider any such activities in opposition to that kingdom which is both within

¹³Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas*, p. 127.

us and outside us, the Church, the eschatological vision of the divine day which has no evening.

Eschatological Light

Gregory Palamas, a true monk and devoted Christian, began his refutation of those who called the divine light created, by an appeal to biblical revelation. In the homily he begins by giving an exegesis of the transfiguration accounts found in Matthew and Luke. He does this for three basic reasons: 1) to stress the uniqueness and newness of the biblical revelation as being beyond and, at times, opposed to the wisdom and philosophy of the profane sciences;¹⁴ 2) to stress the harmony of the biblical accounts in order to teach his listeners and to guard against those who might look for inconsistencies in them; and 3) to explain theologically and, most importantly, “the great and mystical matter” concerning “the mystery of the eighth day” (τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ὀγδόης).

One of the keys to the vision of God according to Palamas is the notion of a realized eschatology which is the underlying ground and link to the various aspects of his theology.¹⁵ The kingdom of God, seen as light, is that which appeared on Mount Tabor. This light, the glory and splendor and power and kingdom and divinity of the Holy Trinity, is that which is beyond the senses, words, and the intellect, and by this is shown to be uncreated, granting to us the knowledge of what, in traditional patristic thought, is “the mystery of the eighth day.” Palamas links the Genesis account of creation with the transfiguration story, stressing that Christ, according to Luke, was transfigured “about eight days after these sayings,” the day which is beyond both the six-day ordering of the senses and the seventh day cessation, in order to demonstrate that the light of the eschatological kingdom of God, now tasted and

¹⁴Ibid. p. 126. Barlaam believed the Bible and philosophy to have the same end, which was “wisdom in itself” (αὐτοσοφίαν) which would put the philosophers on equal footing in respect to knowledge of God with the apostles and Fathers of the Church. He grants no special uniqueness to biblical revelation.

¹⁵Ibid. p. 193.

seen by those being purified by the power of the divine Spirit, is eternal. Palamas also uses two other beautiful examples to explain and demonstrate both the eternity and uncreatedness of the light visibly seen and communicated to Christians. Following Revelation 21.23, in which God will be “instead of all things” in that city which is to come, which “has no need of the sun nor moon, . . . for the glory of the Lord will shine upon it,” Palamas declares that the (uncreated) light of God most assuredly will be “in place of” (physical and intellectual) light. This explanation enables us to distinguish between light apprehended by the senses, the light of the intellect (that which the religious philosophers felt could only grant us a knowledge of God), and the uncreated light which transcends both. This distinction was put into the corpus of doctrinal belief of the Orthodox Church, written in the Hagioritic Tome:

The light of the intellect is different from that which is perceived by the senses. Physical light shows us objects perceptible by the senses, while intellectual light makes clear the truth in our thinking. Thus, the sight of the eye and the sight of the mind do not perceive one and the same light, but it is the property of each of these faculties to act according to its own nature and limitations. Since, however, those who are worthy of it receive spiritual and supernatural grace and strength, they perceive, both by the senses and by the intellect, that which is altogether beyond both sense and intellect . . . but this light is known only to God and to those who have had experience of his grace.¹⁶

Also, in christological terms, Palamas, using Revelation 21.23 again — “and its lamp is the Lamb” — teaches that the body of Christ was as the lamp and the light of the lamp “was the glory of divinity which was manifested on the Mount to those who were with him” (ὡς λύχνον τὸ σῶμα ἀντὶ δὲ φωτὸς τὴν ἐκφανεῖσαν ἐπ’ ὄρους τοῖς συναναβᾶσι δόξαν τῆς θεότητος). Thus, Moses and Elijah, on the Mount, could not have been

¹⁶PG 150.1833D.

glorified by a sensory light, for “they also appeared in glory, and spoke of his departure which he was to fulfill in Jerusalem” (Lk 9.31). This anticipatory participation of the eschatological vision “of the future appearance” (τῆς μελλούσης ἐπιφανείας), effected and generated by and during prayer, purifies the soul, and also protects it from future spiritual harm, allowing those being purified to partake of and participate in the never-ending process of inexhaustive deification — “from glory to glory — til he comes again.” To those united to God, a process already begun in this life, the vision is made known as “the mystery of the eighth day” where we shall see God face to face, i.e., the vision of the resurrected and ascended person of Jesus Christ in glory — and this is, as Palamas says in Homily 34, the vision “of the kingdom of God having come in power” (Lk 9.27). This eschatological vision grants, then, a positive Christian materialism in which all of creation is to glorify God here and now, and our life in Christ and in the Holy Spirit is to be understood as a total and committed cooperation with God, a lifelong process of transforming our corruptible and depraved nature into a worthy temple of holiness. And this true and natural eschaton which will finally be complete at the second coming of Christ is only known and experienced now by the power and acquisition of the Holy Spirit.

Pneumatological Light

For the entire Eastern Christian tradition, the ascetic life, i.e., prayer, fasting, vigils, alms, etc. are but indispensable means for the attainment of the goal and true *skopos* of all Christian life: the acquisition of the Holy Spirit. This acquisition then makes humans “love beings,” for “the fruit of prayer is divine love, which is simply grace, appropriated in the depths of our being.”¹⁷ Love is “divine grace,” the energy natural to the Holy Spirit, which is uncreated, which continually has the ability to inflame the soul and unite it to God. In Barlaam’s (and Akindynos’) refusal to accept

¹⁷Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 212.

the belief of uncreated energies, a problem which also was a result of his struggling with the Latin doctrine of the filioque ("also from the Son"),¹⁸ Barlaam was led, as Palamas demonstrated, to also reduce to the level of creation the Holy Spirit of God. He was, in the mind of Palamas, following the teaching of the *Pneumatomachoi*, reducing the Holy Spirit to the level of created being; and, a vital anthropological assumption was violated: "were the Holy Spirit a created being, not only would God's triadic nature be dissolved; so also would the possibility of deification for the faithful."¹⁹ The teaching of salvation through created grace, conflicting with the above patristic tenet, was attacked by Palamas: "The Spirit of God accomplishes man's deification by means of the energy (ἐνέργεια) and grace natural to him, and not by created means or through his own essence."²⁰ Therefore, we participate in, pray to, and love the Holy Spirit, not "knowing" his essence, but by sharing in his energy. The power of love communicated to the soul by the Holy Spirit is uncreated, proper to the Spirit, for nothing created can unite itself to the soul; although distinct from his divine hypostasis, this power is not a created effect or an accidental quality. Hence, the Holy Spirit is not the bond between the Father and the Son, but rather the personal and creative hypostatic source of these uncreated gifts and grace; for the bond between the Father and the Son (and the Spirit) is their unified essence and their co-eternal and oneness of energy, grace, and love. Therefore, it is only by the power of the Holy Spirit that we can see God, being, in this experience, transfigured by the uncreated light common to the three Persons. In Homily 34, Palamas defines his theological adversaries as being blind, simply led by the senses, not being able to transcend their human nature. He makes the following analogy to express

¹⁸Georgios I. Mantzaridis, *The Deification of Man: St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition* (Crestwood, 1984), p. 37.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 35.

²⁰Palamas, *Answer to Akindynos* 5.24.96, Works 3, p. 359.

the difference between the monks and the religious philosophers: “But, so we may know, the sun is seen by those who live according to the senses and through the senses, just as those who live according to the Spirit and in the Spirit, see that Christ is God.” His genius of defining the person of the Holy Spirit — making the all-important distinction between his essence and energy — within the context of personal prayer, has forever provided a necessary “theological” balance particularly in the areas of the ascetic life, liturgical/sacramental life (worship), and even in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity itself.

Christological Light

“God became man so that man might become god.” This famous patristic passage has always expressed, for the East, the parameters for both the experience of salvation and also all subsequent theological discussion on the personal identity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. For Maximos the Confessor, the incarnation (σάρκωσις) and deification (θέωσις) correspond to one another, and mutually imply one another; and, furthermore, as Maximos teaches, the cosmological meaning of all of life is known in the mystery of the incarnation. “The mystery of the incarnation of the Word,” writes Maximos, “contains the meaning of all symbols and enigmas of Scripture, as well as the meaning concealed in the whole of sensible and intelligible creation. He who knows the mystery of the cross and the tomb knows also the essential causes of all things. Finally, he who penetrates still further and is initiated into the mystery of the resurrection, learns the end for which God created all things in the beginning.”²¹

Gregory Palamas, preserving this soteriological patristic heritage, believed that in the Word becoming flesh — ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο — this “becoming” in no way affected ontologically the divine essence, or personhood, or even the energy of the three-in-one-God. Hence, the Word remained the Word though he became what he was not, i.e., his person

²¹Saint Maximos the Confessor, *Gnostic Centuries* 1.66, PG 90.1108AB.

and essence and energy were not ontologically affected or changed; and, in the hypostatic union, the humanity of Christ was deified, and the radiance which shone forth, as on Tabor, was actually the divine energy and glory and splendor of the divinity of the Logos himself. What was seen on Mount Tabor were the energies, not the essence of God the Logos; yet, the energies are still uncreated, and proper to him, and undivided of his person and essence. The practitioners of the virtues and pure prayer, the hesychasts, by being drawn to Christ by the Holy Spirit and having become purified in their senses and intellect — their total persons — were raised above the senses and intellect and saw that very same energy, the light of the transfigured Christ. Christ was as present to the hesychasts as he was to Paul on the road to Damascus. In this experience, the senses and intellect were blinded, or became “ignorant,” only to be made pure and then to see that uncreated light of the divine essence of the person of Christ himself, whose light is common to the three Persons. As the Scriptures say, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.”

Palamas’ opponents did not challenge Christ’s divinity directly, but they defined deifying grace as created — separate from God the Trinity and his essence. Palamas was alarmed and concerned over the soteriological implications of this type of thought: for how could we, being created, be deified (as stated above) by created means, i.e., by created energy or grace? If the Son’s deifying grace was created, then so was his divinity and person. Thus, Palamas called his opponents the Arians, Eunomians, and Eutychians, and considered them as continuing the work of the old heretics and accused them of reformulating the ancient heresies.²² They, then, who did not understand, within the context of christology, the reality of the divine light of the Transfiguration as uncreated, were forced to teach something, as Gregory states

²²Palamas, *Letter to Akindynos*, 3.9, Works 1, pp. 302-03; see also *Defense of the Hesychasts* 3.3.16, Works 1, pp. 693-94.

in Homily 34, which was quite preposterous: "For he who claims this (that grace is created), teaches three natures concerning Christ: the divine and the human, and the (nature) of that light" (ὁ γὰρ τοῦτο λέγων τρεῖς φύσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάσει, τὴν τε θεϊάν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου). This was utter blasphemy for Gregory, as he says, "He (Christ) will then have in eternity something which he did not previously have." Thus, Christ did not undergo a transfiguration, in the sense of assuming or acquiring something which he did not previously have, but revealed to his disciples, and to those being purified, his divinity, which was and is seen by the bodily eyes as light, an "illuminating" light which is neither sensory nor intellectual, but that light proper to God the Holy Trinity — the uncreated light. In short, soteriologically speaking, Jesus Christ, being transfigured by nature, reveals himself to us so that we may be transfigured by grace — metamorphical theosis.

Finally, in this line of thinking, Palamas speaks to us today. He would reject anyone who teaches that Jesus Christ was only a teacher,²³ example, or good guide for salvation. Also, a Christ who is not at all times imminent and transcendent he would reject. Any notion of making Christ too "human," i.e., proposing salvation then to be an autonomous, human ascetic and moral Pelagianistic effort, Gregory would reject. A balanced christology with an emphasis on Christ the illuminator — he who raises us above our human nature, i.e., our senses and intellect (a transformation and transcendence of human nature) — is, we believe, the main thrust of the christology of Gregory Palamas. God became most imminent so that we may transcend ourselves, summarizes the mystery of the incarnation in the thought of Gregory Palamas.

²³Gregory Palamas does call Christ teacher and prototype of the faithful, but only within the understanding of a balanced Christology, not exalting or making autonomous the human nature of Christ. Christians are students of the Logos of God incarnate. As he says, "our knowledge of God is proud to have God as its teacher." See *Defense of the Hesychasts* 2.3.46, Works 1, p. 576.

Thus, Gregory's anthropology, always understood within the context of a God-initiated soteriology, with an emphasis on prayer as the method and means to gnosis, has its eyes firmly set on the goal, aim, and purpose of humankind and all of life: being drawn by the Holy Spirit to Jesus Christ, human beings can come to know God by being transfigured by the metamorphical and eschatological light, i.e., the energies, love, and grace of God, which is a participation in and inexhaustive process of transcending human nature, "to become," as Saint Peter says, "partakers of divine nature" (2 Pt 1.4), a never ending and eternal love feast of delight with the blessed Trinity.

Trinitarian Light

God is three. God is one. God has no parts. These three sentences capsulize the teaching on the trinitarian vision of God according to Gregory Palamas, and, in particular, the distinctions in God of hypostasis, essence, and energy. Brilliantly explained within the context of prayer, i.e., God's communicability, his "knownness" to his creatures, Gregory Palamas sets forth for us once again, following patristic tradition, the parameters of discussion and defense of the faith concerning these necessary distinctions in God, and thus what exactly is the definition of the trinitarian light of God.

God is three. God is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three hypostases in one essence. Theological personalism as posited by the Bible and the church Fathers teaches, contrary to the essentialist Barlaam in this case, that the Father is the hypostatic source and cause of the persons, essence, and energy of the Son and the Spirit. Yet, by virtue of their consubstantiality and *perichoresis*, the Son and the Spirit are not lesser gods, nor are there three gods, nor are the Son and the Spirit creatures; and, just as importantly, nor are the energies which are proper to the Three inferior divinity, emanations, or creations, even though their cause (αἰτία) is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; for again, by virtue of the interpenetration of the Three, their energy (or grace, light, radiance, love, fire,

etc.) is one and de facto of their unified essence.

God is one. There is no doctrine of pantheism in Eastern Christian thought. The energies, expressed as acts of God in created order, do not have personalized self-existing essences. They have an existence, and for sure a real and personal one, but they do not exist outside of the Three, and thus have no existence from and of themselves. Divine energies do not create, but are the visible expressions and existences of God's love and divinity in created things. They belong foremost to the existence of God himself. Hence, since God is one, i.e., his essence being one and utterly unknowable, the energies in relation to the essence of the Three are inferior (ὕφαιμέναι); but, the energies in no way break the unity or oneness of God, for "the superiority" of the Father in relation to the Son does not blemish it either."²⁵ And also, since the energies are not identical with the essence, "they involve a certain distinction (διαστολή) in the divine Being, but they do not divide it (οὐ μερεσμός)."²⁶

God has no parts. When one comes to know God, he knows him as Trinity, who is whole God. Even if one falls in love with Jesus Christ, he is led to the Father and calls Jesus his Lord only by the Spirit. The trinitarian revelation and reception is the foundation of salvation — knowledge and union with God. It is only when one mistakenly identifies essence with existence (or hypostasis) that one, like Arios, Eunomios, and even Barlaam and Akindynos, begins to confuse the persons and deny their consubstantiality and uncreatedness. The same is true with the energies of God. As Gregory Palamas writes in his treatise against Akindynos, "through each of his energies one shares in the whole of God . . . the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."²⁷ The diversity of God's activity and revelation does not divide God into parts. Therefore, the energies are not accidents or qualities, but

²⁵Ibid. p. 218.

²⁶Palamas, *Against Akindynos* 2.17.98, fol. 64v.

²⁷Ibid. 5.27.98, fol. 146-46v.

are, as stated in Homily 34, "that which is around the divine and blessed nature" (τὸ περὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ μαχαρίαν φύσιν ἑστῶν), allowing God to be completely incommunicable and at the same time able to be known, participated in, and partaken of. We know God by energy (uncreated grace), love him as Trinity, and affirm him to be totally other in essence. And this is the whole point of Palamas' Homily 34. "God," writes Gregory, "by an essence of goodness towards us, being transcendent to all things, incomprehensible and inexpressible, consents to become participable by our intelligence and invisibly visible in his superessential and inseparable power."²⁸ The threeness and oneness of and in God in no way then separates the energies from God, i.e., making them created grace. Hence, just as in the Holy Trinity a distinction is made according to person for dignity, operation, function, and respect — personhood — so too a distinction is made according to energy for the purpose of revelation, communication, participation, and *perichoresis* — theosis. God is three. God is one. God has no parts. And we are deified by that eternal and metamorphical light.

By way of conclusion, we boldly offer the theological vision of Gregory Palamas as the antidote for the maladies of Western man in both the secular and religious realm. If secularism can be defined, above all, as a "negation of worship," of the negation of man as a worshipping being — "*homo adorans*" — the one for whom worship is the essential act which both "posits" and fulfills his humanity, then Palamas' vision of God and man as essentially an interplay of participatory and synergetic love can be quite helpful here. Gregory's existential vision, depicting creatures and creation not as "closed" ends in themselves, but as open-ended, transfigurable, and transcendent realities, can grant to secular study and scientific research a "dynamic" corrective, one which would not negate modern scientific or even philosophical research, but rather, fulfill it by contextualizing it within

²⁸Palamas, *Triad* 1.3.10.

the mystery of God's eternal and uncreated life imparted to, and part and parcel of, created order. The liveliness of creation would once again be restored. We would then come to understand that which our modern physical and social sciences (secular man) are searching for — the true dynamic quality of visible created order, made alive and good by God who has energized it by his very own life, and given to us to be the means and sacrament to know, worship, and love God. Man, in Palamas' terms, could regain his true worship status and vocation. In this sense (with the notion of God's energies), for example, the development of a positive Christian ecology which sees creation as dynamic and able to transcend itself could be worked out and offered to secular man. Also, theology, in these terms, would no longer be a separate "science" at all, but rather be defined as the description, in words proper and adequate to God, of the experience of the mystery of God's dynamic and creative life with his creation. Theology would not be opposed to mysticism, for the dogmas of the faith would be understood as being open to everyone to experience; and, in the end, have an eminently practical significance: the supreme end of union with God. Secular man could regain that perichorectical life — life with God.

In the religious realm, Gregory's personalist and existential theology and spirituality can aid us today by its depiction of religious and church life not based merely on legalistic mandates or on total ethical perceptions, but rather, based on the experiential (πειραχῶς), on the participatory (μετεχούχῶς), on that dynamic (δυναμική) and open-ended relationship between God and man, i.e., the relationship which posits salvation as a never-ending process of communion and union, on the part of man, in the love and uncreated grace of God in Christ by the Holy Spirit. Christian life, then, would be defined as "spiritual action" (νεορὰ πράξις) in which dogma and practice are united and interpenetrate one another; and, in which any stuffy intellectualism which leads to gnostic escapism, or fickle emotionalism (sensualism) which leads to Pelagianistic ethicism, would be ruled out. Personal prayer,

in these terms, would not be defined as simply "cognitive" or "sensory," but rather, as the means for the appropriation of the Church's inner life, of God's very own life which is beyond the intellect and the senses. When Christ says, "Peace I give to you, not as the world gives, I give to you," he means that "peace of God which surpasses all understanding" (Phil 4.6), which is a participatory peace, known only by the senses and intellect (whole man) when they are cleansed and purified by constant vigilance, prayer, and the uncreated gift of God.

Finally, if Gregory Palamas is to be appreciated today by theologians and church people in general, he must be understood as one who attempted, quite successfully, to reappropriate the Tradition of the Church, to "defend and define" the faith received from the Fathers, not simply by repeating and parroting their ancient formulas and words, but by "incarnationally" re-defining and re-interpreting their message and, above all, their experience. Gregory Palamas was a "living dogma," expressing and presenting, in the most crucial and vital areas of his time, the faith received from the Fathers.

Homily Thirty-four
On the Venerable Transfiguration of Our Lord and
God and Savior Jesus Christ, In Which Is
Substantiated that His Light Is Uncreated
By Saint Gregory Palamas

1. Observing this great work of God, I mean the entire visible creation, we both wonder and marvel at it. The wise men of the Greeks, observing it, also wonder and marvel at it, but we, to the glory of the Creator, and they, against the glory of the Creator. For, pitifully, they “worshiped the creature rather than the Creator” (Rom 1.25). We thus explain the prophetic and apostolic and patristic teaching, but to the benefit of the listeners and as a hymn of the Spirit who spoke through the prophets and apostles and the Fathers. The leaders of the times of evil heresies also tried to interpret this, but to the harm of those who were obedient to them; and they violated that which is according to true piety, abusing the teaching of the Spirit, being against the Spirit. Our God-bearing Fathers, however, made accessible to us who are imperfect, the word itself of the gospel of grace, that which is lofty and appropriate only for mature ears and minds, softening it by their own mouths, just as children-loving mothers, chewing the hard food, render it useful and convenient even for infants. And in the same way that liquified food in the mothers’ bodily mouths is converted for the children, so, too, the thoughts in the hearts of the God-bearing Fathers become suitable food for the obedient souls and for those who are receptive. The mouths of the evil ones and

evil thinkers, however, are full of death-bearing poison. And, mixing with the words of life, they then become death-bearing to those who carelessly listen. Therefore, let us flee from those who do not accept the patristic interpretations, who, instead, from themselves, attempt to introduce contrary things. These (heretics), pretending to follow the words of the teachings, repudiate, then, the pious meaning; and, let us flee from these more than a person flees from a serpent, for a serpent, by his bite, temporarily kills the body, separating it from the immortal soul; but they, by the gnashing of teeth, separate the soul itself from God, which is eternal death of the immortal soul. Therefore, let us flee, by all our strength, such as these, and run to those who provide that which is pious and salvific, as in accordance with the patristic traditions.

2. These things, then, are now said, and this is prefaced before your love, since we are celebrating today the venerable transfiguration of Christ on the Mount, and our oration on his light is against the many enemies who are now hostile to those of the light. Come then for a short while, and we will expound the evangelical teaching read today for the explanation of the mystery and substantiation of the truth: "After six days Jesus took Peter, James, and John his brother, and led them up a high mountain apart. And he was transformed before them, and his face shone like the sun" (Mt 17.1-2). It is necessary to see at first from the Gospel on which day the apostle of Christ and evangelist Matthew counts six days, after which day the transfiguration of the Lord falls. Therefore, after which? — after that day according to which the Lord, teaching his own disciples, said that the Son of Man will come in the glory of his Father, and added, saying, "that there are some standing here who will not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom" (Mt 16.28). He calls the light of his own transfiguration the glory of the Father and of his own kingdom.

3. This also the evangelist Luke indicates and clearly elucidates: "It happened," he said, "about eight days after these sayings, and taking Peter and James and John, he went up

the mountain to pray. And as he was praying, the appearance of his face was altered, and his raiment became dazzling white" (Lk 9.28-29). But how can they harmonize with one another, the one clearly stating eight days between the promise and the appearance, while the other, after six days? Listen and understand. Eight were on the mountain, and six appeared. These three, Peter and James and John, were the ones who went up together with Jesus. They, being together with him, saw Moses and Elijah there conversing with him, as these ones are the six. But always invisibly the Father and the Spirit were with the Lord: the one (the Father) witnessing through his own voice that this One is his own beloved Son, and the other (the Spirit), through the brilliant shining forth of the cloud, thus demonstrating that the light of the Son is the same nature and unified with him (the Spirit) and the Father. Thus, six are therefore — eight. Therefore, just as in these things there is no discrepancy between the six and the eight, likewise, neither are the evangelists at odds, the one saying "after six days," then Luke, "it happened eight days after these sayings." But, through both these accounts, they gave us a certain kind of typology of those on the mountain who were both mystically and at the same time openly gathered together. For anyone who pays close attention to the texts will see that the preachers of God agree with one another. For Luke said eight, which does not disagree with the one (Matthew) who says after six days, but rather encompasses the day according to which these words (of Matthew) had been spoken, and the day on which the Lord was transfigured; which is what Matthew also grants to those who prudently purpose to understand, since the preposition "after" indicates the next day, and while this one said it, that one (Luke), then, did not allow it. For Luke does not say "after" eight days, as that one (Matthew), "after six days," but "it happened about eight days." Thus, there is no variation in the historical account of the evangelists.

4. But they also manifest to us, through the apparent disagreement with one another, another great and mystical

matter. And you who are of a penetrating mind, turn your attention to that which has been said. Why, therefore, does one say "after six days," while the other exceeds the seven days (the week), having remembered the eighth? Because the vision of the light of the transfiguration of the Lord is "the mystery of the eighth day," i.e., of the future age, after the cessation of the creation of the world in six days, and the surpassing of our senses which operate in a six-fold manner. For we have five senses, but, added to these, in accordance with the senses, is an oral word which activates the six-fold energy of our senses. But the kingdom of God promised to the worthy is, then, not only beyond sense, but also beyond words. For this reason, after the beautiful energizing of the six-fold senses is fulfilled, the week (seventh day) enriching that which is the worthiness of the energizing, the kingdom of God is manifested according to the eighth day in a power of greater energy. And this power of the divine Spirit, through which the kingdom of God is made visible to the worthy, the Lord foretold to the disciples, having indicated, according to the divine Luke: "There are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God having come in power" (Lk 9.27), i.e., to those who see will be given the power to see the Unseen, having previously been purified of the death-bearing and soul-destroying filth — that which is sin. The beginning of this taste is in the thought of evil, which the ones who have been previously purified will not taste of the soul's death: the ones undefiled will be protected by the power of the future appearance. And, as I think, this is the thought of the saying: "There are those standing here who will not taste of death before they see the kingdom of God having come in power."

5. The King of all is everywhere, and everywhere is his kingdom in that "the coming of his Kingdom" does not mean the coming from one place to another, but rather that it is manifested by the power of the divine Spirit — because of this he said, "having come in power." This power is not given simply to those are are (exist), but to those who stand

with the Lord, i.e., to those who are firm in his faith, and to those like Peter and James and John, those who were first taken up the high mountain by the Word, that is, to those who have risen above our physical debasement. For this reason, then, God is revealed upon the mountain, according to what has been said, as one who comes down from his own height, and as one who lifts us up out of the lower debasement, so that the Incomprehensible One may, in proportion and as much as is safe, be comprehended by created nature. Such an appearance is not of the mind's inferiority, but much greater and more sublime, as it is effected by the power of the divine Spirit. It is evident, therefore, that the light of the transfiguration of the Lord neither has beginning, nor disappears, nor can it be circumscribed, nor be subjected to the sense powers, although it is visible through the bodily eyes, and for a short period, was also on the summit of the mountain; but, here, as has been said, the mystics of the Lord are transformed from the flesh to the Spirit by the alteration of the senses, which the Spirit effects in them. And thus, they saw that inexpressible light inasmuch as the power of the divine Spirit granted to them.

6. Since, in this, they who now blaspheme (the light) do not understand, they claim the chosen of the apostles saw, by a sensory and created power, the light of the transfiguration of the Lord; and by this, they attempt to reduce to the level of creation, not only this light, the glory and the kingdom of God, but also the power of the divine Spirit, through which the divine things are revealed to those who are worthy. For they neither have heard nor have believed in Paul who says, "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him; God has revealed to us through the Spirit. For the Spirit searches even the depths of God" (1 Cor 2.9-10). But, when the eighth day came, just as it is said, the Lord, taking Peter and James and John, ascended up the mountain to pray. He always prayed alone, separating from everyone, even these apostles, as when he fed the five thousand with women and

children with five loaves of bread and two fishes; for all of this he immediately forsook and compelled all the disciples to enter into the boat, while he himself went up the mountain to pray. And even when the Savior's passion drew near, he took with himself the few more eminent of the others, and said to the other disciples, "Sit here while I pray," (Mt 26.36). Then, he takes Peter and James John with himself. Therefore, taking only these, he ascends the high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them, that is, before their eyes. What does it mean, "to be transfigured"? — Chrysostom the theologian says: he revealed, as it pleased him, a little of the Divinity, and to the mystics he showed the indwelling God. For this happened while he was praying, as Luke says, "His countenance was altered"; "he shone like the sun," as Matthew writes. "Like the sun," he then said, not so that the light should be understood as something sensory. Far off is this blind thinking of those who cannot comprehend powers more sublime than that which is visible according to the senses! But, so we may know, the sun is seen by those who live according to the senses and through the senses, just as those who live according to the Spirit and in the Spirit, see that Christ is God; and, to those who are God-capable, in this vision, they have no need of another light, for to those who are eternal, he himself is light and not something else. For what need is there of another (light) for those who have the greatest? Then, while he prayed, he thus "radiated," and inexpressibly unveiled to the chosen disciples that inexpressible light, in the presence of the utmost prophets, in order to show that prayer really is the cause of this blessed vision, and, so that we may learn that the radiance is a result of, and is revealed through virtuous intimacy with God and of the mind's union with him, given and visible to all those who are unceasingly purposed toward God, through genuine beneficence and through sincere prayer. For it is said that the true and most-desired beauty, visible only to those who have a purified mind, is that which is around the divine and blessed nature. He who gazes upon it in the reflections and in grace,

changes to a certain extent by it, being saturated in his own vision as by a certain splendid refreshment. That is how the face of Moses was glorified while he conversed with God. And do you see that Moses was transfigured going up the mountain, and thus he saw the glory of the Lord? But he underwent the transfiguration, not effecting it himself, as it is said: here, in this measure, the light of truth permits me to see and undergo the radiance of God. Our Lord Jesus Christ, however, has that radiance as his very own. Therefore, he himself was in no need of prayer, the body being illumined by the divine light; rather, he showed, therefore, that the radiance of God has come to the saints, and manifested in what manner it became visible to them. For the righteous shall also shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father; and thus, the whole having become the divine light, as children of the divine light, they saw, in a divine way, the inexpressible superbrilliant Christ, out of whom the glory of the divinity was produced physically. For that which appeared on the mountain was unified and of the unity of the hypostasis. Thus, through this type of light, his face shone as the sun. They, however, who by Greek learning and the wisdom of this world, are arrogant against us, and who do not entirely submit to the spiritual men concerning the teachings of the Spirit, and even being pre-determined to rebel, immediately proclaim the light on the mountain of the transfiguration of the Lord which was seen by the eyes of the apostles, to be sensory and created. And, in this, they lacerate that immaterial and never-setting and eternal light, which is not only beyond the senses, but also beyond understanding. They themselves, then, prove to be underqualified and incapable of comprehending that which is beyond the earthly level, although he himself, according to this shining forth, demonstrated beforehand that it is uncreated, calling this the kingdom of God. For the kingdom of God is not servile and creaturely. For it is unique of all things, being unconquerable and unruléd, and beyond every time frame and age. And it is not right, as it is said, to begin or to arrive at the kingdom of God by ages or times,

for we believe this is the inheritance of those being saved.

7. Since the Lord, having been transfigured, shone and manifested the glory and the splendor and the light, and will come again in like manner as he appeared to the disciples on the mountain, does this mean that he therefore took on the light, and will have in eternity something which he did not previously have? Far off is such a blasphemy! For he who claims this, teaches three natures concerning Christ: the divine and the human, and the (nature) of that light. Therefore, not something different, but rather that which he already had, the unrevealed radiance, is that which he manifested. Then he had, hidden by the flesh, the radiance of divine nature, which is that light of Divinity — and it is uncreated. Therefore, according to the theologians, Christ was transfigured, not in the sense of assuming that which he did not have, not that he was changed into something which he was not; but rather, that which he revealed to his own disciples was that which he was, opening their eyes, and out of being blind he makes them seers. Do you see that in relation to that light, the eyes of those who naturally see are blind? Therefore, neither is that light sensory, nor are those who have seen it simply seeing by the sensory eyes, but have been transfigured by the power of the divine Spirit. Therefore, they have been changed, and also have seen the change, which is not something novel, but out of the assumption itself, for he assumed our composition, deified by the union of the Word of God. This is how she, who in virginity mysteriously conceived and gave birth, recognized the one having been born out of her as the flesh-bearing God; also, so did Symeon, taking this one in his arms as a child, and the elder Anna, who came to meet him. For the divine power shone as through a glass vessel, illuminating those who have purified eyes of the heart.

8. Why then does he also pick out the leaders of the others, and them only lead up alone? Most assuredly, in order to demonstrate something great and mystical. How then can the vision of the light be of the senses, that which the chosen

ones also had prior to being lead up, and with them, the ones who remained below? Why then is the power of the Spirit necessary, through which the alteration of the eyes by the vision of that light is effected, if it is sensory and created? How can the glory and the kingdom of the Father and the Spirit be created light? How then will Christ come again in this glory and kingdom in the age to come, when there is no need of air, nor light, nor place, nor similar things, but for us, according to the apostles, God will be in place of all things? If, then, he will be “in place of all things,” then certainly in place of light. Hence, this is how that light is once again demonstrated to be of Divinity. Also, John, the most theological of the evangelists, through the Apocalypse, manifests that the future and abiding city “has no need of the sun nor the moon to shine upon it, for the glory of the Lord illumines it, and its lamp is the Lamb” (Rev 21.23). Is it not clearly demonstrated to us here and now that Jesus was divinely transfigured on Tabor? Was not the body which he had as a lamp, and then, in place of the light was the glory of Divinity which was manifested on the mountain to those who had come up with him? But also, concerning the inhabitants in that city, the same (evangelist) says, “they shall have no need of lamp, or light of the sun, for the Lord God will shine upon them, and night will no longer be” (Rev 22.5). What, therefore, is this light in which there is no variation or shadow due to change (Jas 1.17)? What is this changeless and never-setting light? Is not it that which is of Divinity? But, both Moses and Elijah, and especially Moses, whose soul was not embodied, how could they have appeared and been glorified through a sensory light? For “they also appeared in glory, and spoke of his departure which he was to fulfill in Jerusalem” (Lk 9.31). How, then, could the apostles have known them whom they had not previously seen, if not by the revelation in power of that light?

But, not to overburden your attention too much, let us save, for the time being, the rest of the evangelical words of the most holy and divine services (Liturgy), believing, then,

as we have been taught from those who have been illumined by Christ, i.e., from those only who know certainly; for God, through the prophet, says, "My mysteries are mine and for those who are mine." Therefore, believing correctly as we have been taught, and comprehending the mystery of the transfiguration of the Lord, let us journey towards the shining of that light; and, having been filled with the desire for the beauty of the unchangeable glory, let us purify the eyes of the mind of earthly pollutions, scorning all that is pleasurable and beautiful, that which is not permanent, which is sweet in appearance, but causes eternal pain, which offers beauty to the body, but to the soul, clothes it in that ugly cloak of sin, because of which he who does not have the robe of incorruptible union (with Christ), both hands and feet are bound and cast out into that fire and utter darkness. May all be delivered, in the radiance and knowledge of the immaterial and eternal light of the transfiguration of the Lord, to his glory, and of his unoriginate Father and life-creating Spirit, being one and the same radiance and divinity and glory and kingdom and power, now and always and to the ages of ages. Amen.

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Jerusalem in the Orthodox Theological Tradition*

JOHN KARAVIDOPOULOS

THE NAME OF JERUSALEM DOES NOT MAKE US THINK OF works of art, or of masterpieces of the human spirit, like the names of other cities of the ancient or modern world. Jerusalem's glory comes to her from the place that she holds in the religious history of the world. In the very midst of paganism, Jerusalem was a shining beacon from which the knowledge and the religion of the true God shone forth their beams. Jerusalem was truly "the city of God"¹ on earth, the stage for the manifestations of his power and his wisdom, his justice and his goodness, right up to the supreme sacrifice on the cross of Christ, which marked the end of the ancient world and the dawn of the new. Jerusalem has always been the Holy City for the Jews, and has become the original birthplace of all Christians as they received existence from Christ on his cross.

In this brief exposition, we will, first of all, sketch the historical and the eschatological dimension of Jerusalem according to the information furnished by the New Testament and the history of the Church, and then the place and symbolism that this city has taken in the theological thought of the Fathers and the writers of the Orthodox Church.

*Dedicated to the Second International Theology Seminar in Jerusalem, January, 1986 sponsored by NCCJ.

¹Ps 87.3.

For ancient Israel, the people of the Covenant, Jerusalem is the cornerstone of its religious beliefs and of its piety. The glory of the City of David resounds upon all of the Chosen People. The Jews pray daily that God may pity his beloved people and his Holy City and that he may dwell in Zion. The Jews believe strongly that after the defeat and destruction of their enemies, Jerusalem will be rebuilt and will be the place of final salvation. The descriptions of the eschatological Jerusalem in the biblical and apocryphal texts of Judaism are numerous. On the one hand, Jerusalem is presented as pre-existing along with God and coming down upon the earth at the beginning of the new world. The most important texts about eschatological Jerusalem are those of the dream of Baruch (4.2-6) and of Esdras (7.26ff.). The City will be built again in a perfect manner, and with the most precious materials; it will be great, and will bear the name of "the throne of Jahweh," because God himself will have his dwelling in her. The Temple will be built at the peak of the Mountain of Zion. There all people will be gathered together to prostrate themselves before God. The dream of Baruch adds that celestial Jerusalem existed in Paradise before the sin of Adam, but she was carried off after the sin and has been kept in heaven to descend to earth at the end of time.

This eschatological dimension of Jerusalem has been adopted by the New Testament. If the first Christians are called "saints," "Church of God," "chosen," "beloved of God," etc., it is because they thought of themselves as the eschatological people of God, as the New Israel, the heir to the promises of God in the Old Testament. It is especially interesting to note that the geographical and theological center of primitive Christianity was the city of Jerusalem. After the death and the resurrection of Jesus, Jerusalem, as topological place, transmitted to Jesus and to his Church her theological meanings; she acquired an importance which was theological rather than historical. The establishment of the first Christian community in Jerusalem clearly shows that it

considered itself to be the messianic and eschatological people of God, to be the New Israel. All the Christian missions to spread the Christian message to the entire world came from Jerusalem. All the apostles gathered there to deliberate about the different problems of the newborn Christianity. Our resurrected Lord commanded the apostles not to go far away from Jerusalem until the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, fulfilling the old promises in the New Israel. For Saint Paul, also, the community in Jerusalem was the mother of all churches and the center of Christianity. The fund which he organized in the communities founded by him was to be sent to the "poor" in Jerusalem; he first mentioned it in Romans 15.19, where he mentioned his missionary activity, thus indicating that Jerusalem was the point of his journeys.

This primary place of the church of Jerusalem was recognized during the subsequent centuries of the Christian era. But the question was asked: Did not the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans also have serious consequences for the Christians? In this context, we must first say a few words about the way in which the ancient Church theologically interpreted the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem.² In the Synoptic Gospels, the destruction of the City is given as already predicted by Jesus himself.³ The rejection of the teaching of Jesus and his crucifixion by the Jews were considered by the Christian writers of the first centuries to be the cause of this disaster. We meet this interpretation in the form developed by Justin the Martyr,⁴ and afterward by Irenaios, Tertullian, Hippolytos of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, etc. The latter writer, except for the traditional interpretation which is found in several of his writings, developed another interpretation which is peculiar to him: as all things sensible and terrestrial, according to Platonic philosophy, are

²E. Voulgarakis, *The Theological Interpretation of the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Ancient Church* (Athens, 1968) in Greek.

³Mt 25.27-39, 24.1; Mk 13.1; Lk 13.34-35, 21.5

⁴*Apology* 131.5; 36.3; 47.1 and *Dialogue* 40.1; 92.2.

the shadows of celestial realities, so the terrestrial Jerusalem is a shadow of celestial reality which is the Christ. After the coming of Christ into the world, it is quite natural and justified that his sensible shadow, the terrestrial Jerusalem, should disappear with its temple.⁵ Along similar lines, the destruction of Jerusalem was interpreted by the ancient Church as a proof of God's love and his teaching for his people in order that they might repent for their sins.

But this interpretation by the ancient Church is expressive of the mentality of a past epoch. Today the attitude of Orthodox thought toward Jerusalem and the Jews has completely changed. It will be sufficient for us to cite in this respect an article by the late Amilkas Alivizatos, professor at the University of Athens, in his review, "Orthodox Thought — Orthodoxos Skepsis," in which he proposes that the Church remove from its hymns for Holy Week all phrases and words which might be harmful and might be a curse for the Jewish people.⁶ It is a suggestion that is quite justified, and which conforms to the attitude of Jesus himself, who never condemned the Jews, but forgave them.

The destruction of Jerusalem had serious consequences for the Christians, too. Our information about the fate of the Christians of Jerusalem is very limited. In the fourth century, Eusebios and Epiphanius informed us that Christians, warned by an "oracle" shortly before the destruction, left the City to seek refuge in Pella. In A.D. 135, when the emperor Hadrian founded Aelia Capitolia on the ruins of Jerusalem after the abortive revolt of Barkokhba, the "disciples of the apostles" (according to Epiphanius) came from Pella and formed the nucleus of the church of Jerusalem; according to Eusebios, it was the Gentile-Christians who formed the Church.⁷

With time, this Church grew to such an importance that

⁵Origen: *Homily 17*, PG 12.909.

⁶A. Alivizatos, "The Need for the Correction of the Liturgical Texts," *Orthodox Skepsis*, 1968, no. 1, pp. 5-7.

⁷Eusebios, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.5.2-5. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 29.7.

in the fifth century it became the seat of the fifth patriarchate of Christianity. The great flourishing of monasticism and liturgical ritual made Jerusalem an important center of Christianity which drew pilgrims coming from different countries. Soon Christians were in the habit of making pilgrimages to the "Holy Land." During the first two centuries, it was usually the priests and bishops who went there, but after the peace established by Emperor Constantine, pilgrims became more numerous.⁸ It seems that, especially after the construction of Christian churches by Helen, the mother of Constantine, the habit of traveling to the Holy City to celebrate Easter became popular. This practice was so widespread that Saint Gregory of Nyssa,⁹ in one of his letters, tells those who come to Jerusalem that Christ can be worshiped everywhere with the same ardor. It is not the geographical location that assures closeness to God, but the disposition of the soul.

In any case, some Christian pilgrims left us very interesting descriptions of their trips. For others, we must cite the *Peregrinatio Aethiae* of the fourth century, which furnishes us with precious information about Christian monuments in the Holy Land, and about the liturgical life of the church of Jerusalem.

That which characterizes theological thought of the Orthodox Church relative to our subject is the weight of interest which is borne not just toward the eschatological Jerusalem, which is the subject of the Epistle to the Galatians 4.26, Hebrews 12.22, and especially Revelation 21.1-22. That is why we will devote the second part of this study to a commentary on these three New Testament texts made by Greek Orthodox exegetes. If the city of Jerusalem as "Holy Ground" and "Sacred Place" has acquired a great importance in the

⁸B. Kotting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa, Wallfahrten in der Antike und in der alten Kirche* (Munich, 1950).

⁹Epistle 2, PG 46.1009.

piety and religious consciousness of Orthodox people, and all the faithful have the deep desire to celebrate Holy Week and Easter once in their lives in Jerusalem, in the theological reflection of the churches of the East it is especially the New Jerusalem from above that occupies a more important position.

Saint Paul, in an allegory in the Epistle to the Galatians (4.21-31), draws a parallel between the two sons of Abraham: on the one hand, the son of the servant woman who was born of the flesh signifies the Covenant of Sinai, and corresponds to the actual Jerusalem; on the other hand, the son of the free woman who was born by virtue of the promise signifies the other Covenant and corresponds to the Jerusalem above, which is free. Paul speaks of the Jerusalem above without explaining it further, because it presupposes a known idea in Jerusalem. But for the Pauline notion of Jerusalem, it is necessary to note two things: (1) The Jerusalem above, as mother of all the faithful, has, from now on, sons of earth; while remaining entirely in heaven, it also has a kind of existence on earth. To this real Jerusalem, Paul does not oppose the Jerusalem to come but the one above, which means that eschatological salvation is not to come but is already present. (2) The Jerusalem above is not simply a renewal of earthly Jerusalem but she is contrasted with her (earthly); she (celestial) is her (earthly) antitype. The real Jerusalem represents the world of law; on the other hand, the one above is representative of the new world of liberty from law and sin.

Thus, Paul knew how to characterize in two worlds the Christian Church, which is at the same time in heaven and on earth, and which is the New Israel, a renewed and eschatological people. The Old Testament citation which Paul evokes in this context is Isaiah 54.1: "Rejoice, you who are sterile and do not give birth; burst forth with cries of joy and quickenings of pangs, you who have never known the pains of labor, for the children of the abandoned one are more numerous than the sons of the bride." The prophet is addressing Jerusalem, long left alone by her God who is her husband. The

City, after the scattering of her children during the exile, seems like a widow deprived of her children, who have been driven away. But God will have pity on her and will give her many more children than she has had before; the most distant nations will come to her. Paul found this hope of the Old Testament realized in the Christian Church, whose children are taken not only from among the earthly descendants of Abraham, but from among all the nations that have already been blessed in Abraham and are thereby designated as beneficiaries themselves of the promises that God made to him. The fruitfulness of the Christian Church proves that she is truly the new Jerusalem foretold by the Prophet. It is true that Paul does not use the word "church" here; he did not use this word in its meaning of "universal Church." But is not this celestial Jerusalem our mother, the "Church," already?¹⁰

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is a question of the "mountain of Zion and of the city of the living God, of the celestial Jerusalem"; the celestial mountain and city are the sites of the meeting of the "hosts of angels" and "of the assembly of the firstborn who are inscribed in the heavens" (12.22-23). It is to be noted that these places are not the final goal of the procession of the people of God, of which the issue is raised in the Epistle, but they are also in the present time and of the present people. The entire life of the people is unfolded in front of the celestial Jerusalem; she defines the procession of the people toward the obtaining of their goal.

The exegesis, according to which one must understand the "Jerusalem above" of Galatians (4.26) and the "celestial Jerusalem" of Hebrews (12.2) to mean the Christian Church, is typical of the writers and of the Fathers of the Orthodox Church. Saint John the Damascene wrote: "To show that it was a question of the Church, Paul brought as a witness the prophet who said: 'Rejoice, you who are sterile and do not

¹⁰L. Cerfaux, *La theologie de l'Eglise suivant St. Paul* (Paris, 1965), p. 293.

give birth . . . ' He pointed out that this was the Church composed of the pagans who were alone and without the knowledge of God. The one that had a husband was the synagogue, because the law had been given to her. But the children of the sterile one were numerous; for the one who had a husband gave birth to only one nation, while the sterile one gave birth to all other nations."¹¹ Eusebios of Caesarea wrote: "By saying that the Jerusalem of above is free, Paul understood the Church of Christ."¹² And Origen: "What is the city of the great king, the true Jerusalem, if not the Church built with living stones, there making to God spiritual sacrifices by spiritual men and women and by those who comprise the spiritual law."¹³ The entire group of Eastern exegetes identifies the celestial Jerusalem as the Christian Church.

But the Christian Church has a double aspect; it is militant and earthly here in the present world, and triumphant in heaven. This double aspect has been brought into focus by the Eastern exegetes of the New Testament. The second aspect of the Church triumphant is identified with Paradise, with the heavenly Jerusalem, which is brought up in Revelation (21.1-22, 5). This last book of the New Testament presents to us the idea of Paradise, as foretold by the prophets of the Old Testament, as having been fulfilled in the Church. The description of the New Jerusalem shows that the state of Paradise has been reestablished: "God will wipe all tears from our eyes and death will be no more; there will be no more mourning, no more weeping, and no more pain, for the former things have disappeared" (21.4). The New Jerusalem is described by Saint John as a paradise: there are the River of Life and the Tree of Life. The initial state of Paradise before the sin of Adam will be reestablished in the New Jerusalem, which Saint John saw coming down from heaven "like

¹¹In Epistle to the Galatians, PG 95.805.

¹²PG 24.952.

¹³PG 14.420.

a young bride adorned for her husband." It is the Tabernacle where God will live in continual communion with men. This New Jerusalem comes from heaven, from God himself. The earthly Jerusalem, developing her empire and assuming political supremacy over all people, is not raised into glory. The New Jerusalem constitutes the complete failure of the Old. In creating the New Jerusalem, God remakes totally that which man has ruined. This new city coming from heaven is the goal of all creation; it is the metropolis of the "new Earth" and the "new heaven."

According to the description in Revelation, we know that this eschatological city will have a quadrangular shape of which all the sides will be the same length, which is the symbol of the perfection of the City, according to Eastern ecclesiastical commentators.¹⁴ The precious stones of which it is built signify the worth of the inhabitants. By the three gates in each of its four sides, according to Orthodox exegetes, it must be understood that the Holy Trinity is present everywhere in the City. Life in the celestial Jerusalem will be marked by the absence of the limited conditions of our earthly existence: pain, tears, and death will have no place there. The glory of God will fill everything.

We must here note a difference between the Judaic conception and the Christian conception of the eschatological Jerusalem: according to the eschatological hopes of Judaism, the Temple of God will be found at the center of the New Jerusalem. In the Jerusalem of Revelation, there will not be any temple, because "its temple is the Lord Almighty and the Lamb" (Rev 21.22). Andreas, bishop of Caesarea and a Greek exegete of the sixth century, wrote: "What need has she for a temple since she has God as guardian and protector? He himself is at once the temple and the inhabitant of

¹⁴Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentary in Apoc.*, PG 106.215-458. Arethas, *Commentary in Apoc.*, PG 106.487-786. A. Makrakis, *Interpretation of the Apocalypse of John the Theologian* (Athens, 1928), in Greek. Panagiotes Bratsiotis, *The Apocalypse of the Apostle John* (Athens, 1950), in Greek.

the saints, because he lives in them, as he promised.”¹⁵

The City was compared by Makrakis, a Greek theologian of the end of the last century, to a body whose soul is God. All of this city, and each one of its members, lives the perfect and blessedly happy life in God. The Tree of Life is Christ, Christ “*Kainopoios*” (who renews all things) according to the term of Arethas, an exegete of the ninth century. And, in order to end with a description, the eschatological city carries a personal character, strongly accentuated by Saint John: the perfect communion of men with God, broken by sin, will be reestablished and renewed. The initial state of Paradise will once again be a reality.

The notion that this New Jerusalem is the initial Paradise reestablished or the Christian Church, especially in its triumphant aspect, is the typical point of view represented by the theology and the exegesis of the Orthodox Church. “The Jerusalem of above is no other than Paradise,” said Gregory of Nyssa expressly. “Hasten to have your name inscribed in the heavenly Church,” wrote Saint Makarios of Egypt, “in order that you may be found at the right hand of the Most High. Hasten to enter the Holy City, into Jerusalem made peaceful and very high, where Paradise is.”

Celestial Jerusalem, Paradise, and Church form a unity in the theological thought of the exegetes of the East, of whom some admitted the total identification of these realities, and others characterized the Church as “the image of this city of God (Eusebios of Caesarea) or the New Jerusalem as the type (the model) of the Church (Andreas). Whatever may be said of it, celestial Jerusalem is the object of the desires of the Christian, as the earthly Jerusalem in the Old Testament was the most desired place for the exiled Jews. Psalm 136.5-6 expresses the Jewish sentiment in the following words:

¹⁵PG 106.440.

If I forget you, Jerusalem,
may my right arm dry up!
May my tongue be stuck to my palate
if I lose the memory of you,
if I do not put Jerusalem
at the peak of my joy!

For the Christian, the celestial Jerusalem becomes the ardently desired object evoked by this Psalm. The road to this city of Paradise has been opened by Jesus Christ. In an ecclesiastical chant for the Great Monday of the Orthodox Church, we read:

Lord, you are going to your Passion willingly, and you said to your apostles as you went along the way: 'Here we are going up to Jerusalem and the Son of Man will be delivered up, according to what is written of him.' Then let us go, also; let us accompany him, with a purified spirit, let us be crucified with him, and let us die with him to the pleasures of life in order that we may live with him and that we may hear him say: 'I am no longer going to Jerusalem to suffer, but I go up toward my Father and your Father, my God and your God, and I will cause you to come up toward Jerusalem with me, into the kingdom of heaven.

In another paschal hymn, the poet is talking to the Church and to the Mother of God and says: "Shine forth, shine forth, New Jerusalem; for the glory of the Lord is risen on you. Rejoice, and hope, Zion; and you, pure Mother of God, rejoice in the resurrection of your Son."

We shall sum up what has been said before about the place of Jerusalem in the theological thought and in the life of the Orthodox Church. The historical understanding of the city of Jerusalem given by the ancient Church, in spite of the explication of its destruction by the Romans, continues to be in the consciousness of Orthodox peoples the "Holy Land" which draws pilgrims to it; in Byzantine iconography,

Jerusalem very early took on considerable importance. But in the theological thought of the East, we have noticed a tendency to pass from history to theology. It is not the earthly Jerusalem which shaped the object of theological developments, but the celestial Jerusalem, the eschatological Jerusalem. This celestial Jerusalem is presented, at the same time, as an eschatological hope and as a living reality in the actual (earthly) Church militant.

The differences between Judaism and Christianity can be seen here. For both, Jerusalem is a final goal, and, as such, Jerusalem constitutes a message full of hope for our world which is a world without hope. For Judaism, this goal is to be attained in the future, whereas for Christianity, it is the realization that it already has begun in the Church and will be consummated at the end of time.

Translated by George C. Papademetriou

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Knowing the Unknowable God: Ibn-Sina, Maimonides, Aquinas. By David B. Burrell. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986. Pp. 130. Paper.

The present work is an important comparative philosophical study that looks at the "medieval climate" that was "far more open to interfaith and intellectual exchange than our stereotypes have presumed it to be" (p. ix).

The author states the aim of the three philosophers that he treats as being "to secure the distinction of God from the world, and to do so in such a way as to display how such a One, who must be unknowable, may also be known" (p. 3). The medieval philosophical activity among Muslims, Jews, and Christians was productive. There was a great deal of interchange of ideas and philosophical dialogue among the three religions. Their burning desire was to discover the truth and God as reflected in divine revelation and the Aristotelian philosophical system.

The author begins the study with the first chapter, "picturing the connection." The author discusses the various possibilities of a common background of these three thinkers including the linkage to John Damascene. However, the undoubted inheritance of a common revelation and the use of the Aristotelian methodology makes a point of connection between the three philosophers.

The centrality of God is evident in the philosophies of all three thinkers of the present study. The author points out the common ground of the distinction of being and essence in God. He points out that for Maimonides and Ibn-Sina this distinction is "possible from necessary being, and is a way of affirming the uniqueness of the necessary existent" (p. 27). And for Aquinas, "what exists is the subject and the subject has being by its essence."

In discussing the nature of divinity the author points out that all three of these medieval philosophers have in common that "God is One" and in Greek philosophical terms they deny the "composition in God." They all display "God's

simpleness" and oneness.

In the realm of epistemology Maimonides differs from Aquinas in that the latter identifies the "attributes with divine essence," and Maimonides denies positive attribution to divinity (p. 62). It seems that Aquinas follows the Platonic-Augustinian view that, the "divine ideas are in the mind of God." For Maimonides, God "knows and cares for individual human beings," and, God who is the eternal creator of all contingent things also knows and governs the entire world.

The purpose of the present comparative study is to show that "Ibn-Sina influenced Maimonides and both affected Aquinas" (p. 109). The medieval philosophers dared to openly articulate the philosophical views that heavily borrowed from each other's faith traditions. The contemporary cultures, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian, need to have greater understanding of their common roots in divine revelation and Hellenistic philosophy.

The emphasis of these three thinkers is the "unknowability" of God's essence and the relationship of God with all contingent things. That is, the hidden God reaches out to his creatures.

This is an excellent scholarly study that clarifies some important points of medieval Muslim, Christian, and Jewish philosophy and particularly fine points of epistemology. It is well documented and gives us an important lesson to think and philosophize with an open mind having as our guide divine revelation. It is very useful to contemporary philosophers, theologians and those who are involved in inter-faith dialogue.

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Certainly the Ukrainian Millenium booklet series provides the reader with expert and highly readable sources for understanding and appreciating the Ukrainian situation in particular. It also demonstrates clearly the interplay between religious and secular forces and the tragic results of the conflicting claims of nationalism and the churches, of politics and religion. These publications also provide intimate and revealing glimpses of Orthodox-Catholic relations in complex geographical regions and crucial historical periods.

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Orthodox Perspectives on Pastoral Praxis. By Theodore Stylianopoulos (ed.) Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988. Pp. 202. Paper \$10.00.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and Hellenic College is being marked by the publication of three volumes of papers delivered at a number of commemorative conferences held on the campus of these institutions in Brookline, MA. The first of these volumes, edited by the Very Rev. Dr. Theodore Stylianopoulos, is the present collection of essays on pastoral subjects ranging from the role of women in the Orthodox Church to monasticism and its role in the contemporary Church. These essays are provocative and, though unequal in quality, all of great interest to the Orthodox scholar and believer alike. The volume is, as usual, handsomely bound by the Holy Cross Orthodox Press and adorned with a magnificent mosaic icon of the washing of the feet of the Apostles by Christ — an apt image for a collection of writings on pastoral matters.

I will not consider every essay in this collection, not only because, as I have noted, they vary in quality, but also because I cannot give justice to many of the issues raised in these

essays with which I have insufficient familiarity to comment intelligently or objectively. My choice of essays in this commentary, however, should not be taken as an indication of approbation of these over and against those which I have not considered, both for the foregoing reason of limitations in my expertise and because some of my subsequent commentary will more than adequately challenge any such assumption.

This volume opens with an essay by Father Stanley Harakas on the role of Orthodox in American society as what he calls a "Johnny come lately" element and the effects of America on Orthodoxy itself. This is a penetrating, insightful piece of writing which I believe every Orthodox Christian in this country should read. He addresses himself to the current wave of literature decrying the negative aspects of American "individualism" with a moderation that one finds in too few considerations of this new fad in American self-reproach, yet very decisively points out that Orthodox in America must place limitations, nevertheless, on their expectations about and from America: "America is not the kingdom of God" (p. 27). In what some may find homilistic rhetoric, but in what I think contains a practical message of encouragement, Father Harakas concludes his essay with a reaffirmation of the belief that much of what is in America is good, if we understand it realistically, and that both the ethnic and spiritual contributions of Orthodox Christians in the American population can add to the American respect for freedom and striving for high principles that are consistent with much of our Orthodox belief and heritage. Again, if this sounds like patriotic exhortation, the voice is one worthy of our attention.

Deborah Belonick, in her essay, "Women in the Church," calls us to look critically at the witness of women both pastorally and in the *ethos* of the whole Church. She begins with a patristic consideration of human sexuality which is too brief and which poses problems that are resolved only with a more thorough search of the patristic literature through contemporary times — a continuity which she unfortunately

finds in her retreat to contemporary secondary sources, rather than the vast literature available in the often neglected writings of our contemporary saints. Her call for a "lay ministry" for women is modelled on a non-Orthodox view of the ministry, and her failure to develop the implication of an ordained female diaconate in the Orthodox Church (a phenomenon to be observed even early into this century in convents) leads her into a concept of innovative ministry for women that one really need not evoke. Moreover, the total lack of attention to traditional monasticism for women — something hardly to be observed, sadly, in many of the convents in the American Orthodox experience — leads her to concentrate on new charismatic ministries, when the issue is not so much a matter of "creation" in the Orthodox Church as "revival."

Dr. Kyriaki K. Fitzgerald, in another essay on the role of women in the Orthodox Church, makes a very good argument for serious and continued study of the female diaconate and the "revival" of traditional Church roles for women. However, her discussion of women and the reception of the Eucharist during menstruation makes a totally artificial distinction between "paper tradition" and "living tradition." Her distinction between Ecumenical Synods and local councils, while popular, wholly misunderstands the concept of authority and functional tradition (the way in which authority enters into church practice). Thus she fails to understand that the rule applied to this issue is, among those of us who perceive a unity in the traditions of the Church and live within that unity, not open to academic debate. It serves us and it creates problems only when one deviates from the whole experience of the Orthodox spiritual life in which, lacking humility, we approach as a prerogative and limitations imposed on us by the Church as "unfair." As for female servers, here too one must simply turn to the reality of current practice. As in other areas where we begin to re-examine the roles of women by innovation rather than restoration or revival, most of these examinations grow out of a dissatisfaction with

a faith incompletely and inadequately lived. Otherwise — if one can put aside the hatred for Old Calendarists and the accusations that they deny the equality of the sexes —, why is it that in the midst of a strictly traditional Orthodox lifestyle, the issues which touch us are those of restoration and revival, while innovation brings to our minds a sense of repulsion?

About Professor John Erikson's essay on the reception of converts into the Orthodox Church, I have written elsewhere that he takes great liberties with the holy canons and makes an argument on the basis of a selective use of materials that wholly ignores the conciliar decrees by which many Orthodox Churches and prelates have made reception into Orthodoxy by baptism a preferred mode of conversion. As usual, we find the notion of economy — of the Church acting in unusual circumstances to create grace where it is absent or doubtful — abused and used as a means for establishing ecumenical "recognition" of that which lies outside Orthodoxy.

Three other essays in this volume concern an area in which I have some interest: monasticism. The first of these is by the abbot of New Skete, Hieromonk Laurence. In various places, I have often decried the fact that monasticism in America is insufficiently tied, for the most part, to mature monasticism. That is why it so often fails and why it has so often become the source of unbelievable and shocking scandals. On the one hand, we have a monastic phenomenon in this country not far removed from what I call "guruism." In the name of "eldership" and some kind of charismatic prerogative, various individuals set themselves up as the purveyors of the only "genuinely" monastic life. The fact that charismatic elders have always been humble and have always put forth authenticity in the externals of dress, ascetic practice, and hesychastic theory compromises this guruism. The very claims of its leaders are evidence of their inauthenticity. At the same time, a kind of modernistic monasticism, suited to our times, has also been established in this country,

largely by monastics and monastic communities coming from Anglican or Roman Catholic traditions. These entities, too, claim a certain authenticity, usually propped up by quick trips to Mt. Athos or formal ties to some monastic community of a modernistic spirit equal to their own. It is in the context of this unhealthy state of American monasticism that I must comment on Hieromonk Laurence's essay.

Father Laurence has some good things to say about monasticism in his essay. Moreover, I do not doubt that he sincerely believes that his monastic life is Orthodox and that his comments reach to the core of the Orthodox monastic experience. However, I see in his words and observations a critical weakness. Those of us who are steeped in a monastic life which is led by and tied to monastics whose experience goes back beyond a single generation never approach the monastic ideal in a spirit of criticism. We are not anxious to change, revive, and restructure, since the ideals of monasticism presented to us are part of a living monasticism with a past and present that cannot be separated. Moreover, the ideals presented to us are so expansive and overwhelming, that fulfilling their demands is a life's task; we have no time to innovate and restructure.

The weaknesses that Father Laurence finds — monastics who dress up in their habits, only later to don fashionable street dress; monastics who attribute hallucinations from sleep deprivation and fasting to hesychasm; those who misuse the prayer rope, etc. —, and which he wishes to treat, are unknown to us traditionalist monastics. They are the products of immature American monasticism. Our spiritual fathers are experienced in fasting and know how to practice moderation. They can distinguish demonic fantasy or physical hallucinations from real spiritual experiences. They have taught us even to sleep in our habits, so that a "night out on the town" is not part of our monastic life. We carefully control those who set their feet on the path of monasticism. Our tradition, our adherence to the body of practices and the strictness of life embodied in the examples before us — these things guide

us. We do not turn to Mt. Athos to make our monastic vocations legitimate by "association"; rather, we try to bring the spirit of the Athonite saints to the place where we are, living lives which emulate and imitate the Athonite witness. In such efforts, much of what Father Laurence writes is useless to us. And it is equally useless to those who wish, not to recreate the monastic life, but to realize it in the full measure in which it has been passed down from the spiritual laboratories of those who have already tested and perfected the Orthodox angelic life.

Mother Alexandra, retired abbess of the Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Ellwood City, PA, and Dr. Constantine Cavarnos complement Father Laurence's essay with two beautiful essays in praise of the Orthodox monastic life, its importance, its beauty, the ideal which it is, and the role which it must play in the restoration of all Orthodox in this country. These essays do not abound in criticism, but are fragrant with praise. They do not seek to recreate, but to establish. They are filled, not with sociological jargon, but with spiritual wisdom. These essays speak to us traditional monastics, who remain outside the realm of public attention, who are not mentioned or cited in guides to American monasticism, but who live on in an unbroken chain of obedience to our spiritual fathers before us. They speak to us, perhaps, without even knowing it, since they speak of satisfaction and fulfillment. And these are the very things which traditional monasticism gives us: things so nicely portrayed in these two essays by a former abbess and a renowned theological writer.

This book approaches all that is good and bad (and in-between) in American Orthodoxy and should serve as a handbook for those who think that, amidst the contradictions and confusion, there is nothing stable in Orthodoxy. There is stability in our instability. This book shows us both of these elements clearly and in an interesting and compelling way.

Bishop Chrysostomos
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special way, but separated from the concerns, views, and preoccupations of the historian. Once we come to see hagiography and spiritual writing in this way, then we can see the superficiality of an historical series that would transform A into Z, study it according to the qualities and characteristics of Z, and then dismiss A as though it were nothing. The authenticity of belief in Saint Irene is as far away from historical analysis as A is from Z. For the Orthodox reader, then, there is little to gain in critical studies of hagiography, save the experience of seeing how much good work and careful scholarship can underpin insufficient thinking.

Bishop Chrysostomos

Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

Πάσχα Κυρίου. Δημιουργία-ἀναχαίνισις καὶ ἀποστασία [*The Passover of the Lord: Creation-Redemption and Apostasy*]. By A. D. Delembases. Athens: n.p., 1985. Pp. 913. Paper.

Trained in theology at the University of Athens, an active educator (the author is a gymnasiarch, or superintendent, of a secondary school), and one of the chief apologists for the moderate members of the Old Calendar movement in the Church of Greece, Mr. Delembases is both an indefatigable writer and a man remarkably well-versed in patristic literature. The present book, a monumental work with no less than 6,243 footnotes and 817 separate textual notes(!), attests to the author's meticulous attention to his topic and to his extensive reading in the Fathers, this reading being abundantly obvious in his cogent exposition and synthetic integration of patristic texts. This book represents classical Orthodox scholarship at its best — reflective theology as it should be. Everywhere, the patristic and scriptural witnesses are brought to bear on a particular assumption, the elucidation of that assumption taking the form of a development further complemented by patristic citations and, to be sure,

justifications. If for no other reason, this book should be read by modern theologians as an example, not of a literary genre in theological studies, but as a guide to and paradigm of what theological writing in the Orthodox tradition can be in its ideal form. The book is an unusual treasure in this sense, and the author must be complimented for a contribution that one would not expect in an age of general mediocrity in writing and scholarship — of “ugliness and decline,” as the late Father Georges Florovsky was fond of saying, “not of beauty and creativity.”

The essential scheme of Mr. Delembases' book is that of constructing a systematic exposition of the Orthodox view of creation, redemptive renewal, and apostasy as they are understood against the image of the Christian Passover — the Great Pascha, the Resurrection — and its revelation of the divine *oikonomia*. As such, his work is a useful compendium of dogmatic theological precepts. With exactitude and acumen, the author traces the development of Christian theology from creation to the eschatological. The basic tenets of the Orthodox Faith so clearly emerge from this development that one is overwhelmed with the consistent, cohesive, integrative teaching of the Church, always presented in the text, as we have noted, with a plethora of patristic and scriptural references and citations.

Entwined with this dogmatic development is a clever and brilliant defense of the Old Calendar movement in the Church of Greece, set forth in the profoundest of terms. For those who are close-minded, intolerant, or indifferent with regard to this issue, Mr. Delembases presents a formidable challenge. This book is an answer to those who would unwisely dismiss millions of Orthodox faithful as “sectarians” or “worshippers of days.” One is reminded, in thinking of such observers, of the famous theologian who was confronted by an academic astronomer who tells him that theology is really quite simple and can be summed up — without recourse to high-sounding philosophies — as follows: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” The theologian, undaunted by this attack

on the integrity of the "queen of the sciences," replies: "Yes, indeed. And the science of astronomy can easily be summarized as follows: 'Twinkle, twinkle, little star. . . .'" Here Mr. Delembases answers the intolerant and unthinking critics of the Old Calendar movement with a voluminous quip that stings with very much the same force as our witty theologian's response to his astronomer friend. But Mr. Delembases' response is not sharp alone; it is also weighty, thought-provoking, and challenging. It prompts the reader not to retreat from simplicity, but to study. And there is great merit in the study of theological truth, rivers of which flow from this fine work.

The reader will find a refreshing absence of jurisdictional polemics in Mr. Delembases' defense and treatment of the Old Calendar issue. It is a challenge to those who would make a fetish of thirteen days as much as it is a real threat to those who refuse to deal with this issue as a serious theological one. The even-handed manner in which the author approaches the calendar innovation makes the information in this book valuable even to those who may not wish to involve themselves in the matter to the point of embracing the Old Calendar movement. The Old Calendar issue is handled in such a way as to exemplify the constant apostasy away from the divine restoration, beginning with the denial of Christ by the Jews — an image of apostasy in each innovative age — and reflecting itself in the excesses of modern ecumenism (in which the poverty of contemporary scholarship leads ostensibly Orthodox thinkers to acknowledge the divine *oikonomia* sacramentally outside the canonical boundaries of the Church). He traces the calendar innovation to the poverty of theological understanding among those who embraced it, the lack of sobriety among those who unwittingly perpetuated it, and the spirit of ecumenical apostasy in the hierarchs who failed to understand the deeper erosion of Orthodox tradition that accompanied the innovation. With constant patristic quotes, Delembases strives to establish that the strong bond between the external and the internal, time and the timeless, the divine day of the Pascha and the

mundane days of earthly life is violated by the calendar innovation.

In a careful analysis of the ecclesiology of one of the most eminent Old Calendarist theological voices, Metropolitan Cyprian of Oropos and Fili, Mr. Delembases develops a summary statement with regard to the Old Calendar movement, noting that the issue is not one of the absence of grace in the calendar innovation, but one of deviation from tradition, the restoration of that tradition by the Old Calendar movement representing a classical example of the process of restoration in the face of apostasy from the divine *oikonomia* of the Orthodox way. While he decries the course of apostasy initiated by the calendar reform, he flatly rejects those who would fail to see the Old Calendar movement from a restorative perspective and who would cause separation and division in the name of an inadequate, insufficient ecclesiological stance that eschews eventual unity in the Greek Orthodox Church.

The Greek in this book is not easy. Indeed, the author writes in the style of the Fathers whom he knows so well. It is the desire of our study center to translate sections of this book slowly, making it available to an English-speaking audience. In the meantime, it is unfortunately not easily read by those who know Greek only in the academic sense or who, though native speakers, are unfamiliar with the more intellectual Greek dialect. There is a short English summary in the book, but, of course, a book of this scope cannot be captured in a short abridgement. Moreover, the English *précis* is a bit stilted in style and difficult to follow. Despite all of these drawbacks for the English-speaking student or scholar, however, this book is destined to be a classic of Orthodox thought. I heartily recommend it to anyone who can take the time to study it carefully and with an open mind. It is a pleasure simply to see scholarship of this quality.

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Patristics in Missionary Work: An Example from the Russian Orthodox Mission in Alaska

S. A. MOUSALIMAS

PATRISTIC TRADITION ENABLED A RUSSIAN ORTHODOX missionary to respond constructively to a southern Alaskan shaman in the early nineteenth century.

The missionary was Ivan Veniaminov who served as a priest on the eastern Aleutian Islands from 1824 to 1834. After his ministry on the Islands, Veniaminov was tonsured a monastic, named Innokentii, and became the first bishop in Alaska (1840). He was subsequently elevated to Metropolitan of Moscow (1868), and he has recently been canonized a saint of the Orthodox Church (1977). He is now honored in America as Saint Innocent of Alaska.

Before his ministry on the Islands, Veniaminov had at least two sources of patristic thought. One was the seminary in Irkutsk where he studied from 1806 to 1818. He excelled in his studies, and he remained in the city until he departed for Alaska in 1823. During this time, the first quarter of the nineteenth century, patristic studies, which had been suppressed since the Emperor Peter's reign, were being re-established in the theological curriculum in Russia. Veniaminov's other source of

*Paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, August, 1987.

patristic thought was an uncle who raised him and who became a monastic in Irkutsk at the same time the young man entered the seminary there. As a monastic, the uncle maintained a paternal relationship with the student.

Veniaminov became the first long-term missionary among the eastern Aleutian Islanders. During his ministry, the Aleut language came to be used in liturgy and Scripture, Aleut church leadership developed, and the Aleuts produced Christians of remarkable spiritual gifts, including missionaries who evangelized neighboring Alaskan people. Aleut identity and Russian Orthodoxy subsequently merged. Veniaminov may, therefore, be considered a successful missionary for, although the Aleut's conversion had begun before his arrival, the faith came to fruition and became indigenous during his decade of interaction with the Aleuts.

Among those interactions were encounters with shamans. As a class, shamans were morally ambiguous: a shaman might act benevolently or malevolently. However, their primary social tasks (those tasks associated most frequently with them) were beneficial. Those roles were: healer, hunting facilitator, and seer. Shamans acted through extraordinary contacts with spirits which the shamans influenced, and by which the shamans were influenced. As for the spirits, while some were psychological phenomena, others were intelligent beings. In this sense, regarding spirits, southern Alaskan cosmology was like Russian cosmology, and both were like early Christian cosmology.

The shaman in this case was Ivan Smirennikov. He had Slavic names because he was baptized, and, through baptism, Aleuts adopted Russian Christian names and surnames which they used in addition to their other names. Smirennikov had been baptized thirty-two years before his encounter with Veniaminov by a priest-monk, Makarii.

Makarii was the only missionary on the Aleutian Islands before Veniaminov. This priest-monk traveled alone with an interpreter throughout the eastern Islands and baptized many people but stayed less than a year, from autumn 1795 to

autumn 1796. Earlier, in the 1760s, baptisms had first been performed by Russian and Siberian frontiersmen through intermarriages and alliances with Aleuts. Once baptized, Aleuts began baptizing their own children, lay people being permitted to baptize in the absence of clergy, according to Orthodox tradition.

The encounter between Smirennikov, the Aleut shaman, and Veniaminov, the Russian missionary, occurred in April, 1828 on the island on which the shaman lived, Akun Island. Information comes from a letter written by Veniaminov to his bishop in Irkutsk.¹

The Encounter with the Shaman

Veniaminov wrote that arriving on Akun, he found the Aleuts prepared for his visit although he had not notified them. When he asked them how they knew, they said that the shaman had told them. Asking them more about this shaman, Veniaminov learned that Smirennikov was able to do the extraordinary. For example, Smirennikov had healed a woman who had been fatally injured; through clairvoyance, he had located a supply of food during a minor famine; and he had foreseen future events. (Although Veniaminov did not mention the coincidence, these acts corresponded to the primary roles of the southern Alaskan shaman: healer, hunting facilitator, and seer.)

Approaching him with interest, Veniaminov inquired how he foretold the future. Smirennikov explained that soon after he had been baptized by Makarii, spirits began appearing to him, at first one, then two. He described them. They had the appearance of humans dressed in robes which reminded Veniaminov of church vestments. The spirits then continued to appear to him almost daily, granting his requests and,

¹"Letter from Rev. Priest John Veniaminov to Archbishop Michael of Irkutsk, 5 November, 1829," in *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, ed. Michael Oleksa (New York, 1987), pp. 132-34. Also in Lydia T. Black, "Ivan Pan'kov: An Architect of Aleut Literacy," *Arctic Anthropology* 14/1 (1977)

through him, sometimes the requests of others. The spirits told Smirennikov that they had been sent to him by God to preserve him and to teach him.

Indeed, Smirennikov had detailed knowledge of the creation, the fall, the Incarnation, and salvation in Christ. The missionary-priest wrote that if he, the priest, omitted some point in an instruction to the Aleuts, Smirennikov would insist that the full account be given. But Smirennikov lacked normal means of instruction. He could not read, and he had had only a brief contact with Makarii who conversed through an interpreter. The only person in the region who might have instructed Smirennikov in such detail was the *toion*, the chief of those Islands, but the *toion* avoided him because he thought that Smirennikov was a shaman.

The Russian priest asked Smirennikov about his response to the spirits which appeared to him. What did he feel? Sorrow? Joy? Smirennikov replied that when he was conscious of having done something bad, he felt a twinge of conscience; otherwise he was never afraid.

Finally, after considering Smirennikov's credibility, Veniaminov instructed him to continue listening to these spirits and to continue healing and advising. He also instructed him to tell the people who sought assistance from him to turn directly to God for assistance too.

Before leaving the island, the missionary-priest told the islanders not to call Smirennikov a shaman.

Veniaminov was not required to write this report to his bishop. He evidently did so because Smirennikov was exceptional.

Obvious in the report was that Veniaminov approached this shaman personally and with interest. Also, the missionary permitted the Aleut healer and seer to function among the islanders, all of whom were baptized. In contrast, Veniaminov responded differently to other shamans during the same period in his ministry. His response to Smirennikov came from insights into this healer and seer.

The first insight was derived from Veniaminov's knowledge

of Aleutian Island shamanism. Bilingual and familiar with many aspects of Aleutian Island culture, Veniaminov was aware of shamans' characteristics. He described them in an ethnography which remains authoritative today.² Aware of these characteristics, Veniaminov recognized that Smirennikov differed from other shamans in some ways. For example, Smirennikov did not operate through shamans' typical rites. The missionary, therefore, distinguished Smirennikov from shamans in general: "I told the other Aleuts who were present not to call him a shaman. . . ."³

Patristic Tradition

The second insight was derived from patristic tradition. This tradition provided Veniaminov with criteria to discern the moral type of spirits which were appearing to Smirennikov.

Such discernment was important because the missionary was concerned with salvation, and salvation involved dissociation with demons. Expressed in the Gospels and Epistles, this aspect of salvation had been developed as a theme in patristic writings. Athanasios of Alexandria,⁴ for example, explained that due to the fall into ignorance and irrationality, mankind came under the influence of demons and worshiped them as gods, but Christ the Savior abolished the demons' influence by directing humanity back to God. Earlier, Saint Irenaios⁵ had taught that Christ conquered Satan and bound him "with the same chains with which he [the foremost demon] had bound man, in order that man, being set free,

²*Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, trans. Lydia T. Black (Kingston, Ontario, 1984), pp. 219-20.

³S. A. Mousalimas, "The Ancient Aleutian Island Shaman." Paper presented at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge University, October, 1986.

⁴*Λόγος περὶ τῆς Ἐνανθρωπήσεως*, 11, 15, 25, 27, 45-48; PG 25.113-15, 121-24, 137-40, 141-43, 176-84; *St. Athanasios on the Incarnation*, trans. a Religious of C. S. M. V. (Crestwood, NY, 1953), pp. 37-39, 43-44, 54-56, 57-58, 82-87.

⁵*Against Heresies* 5.21.3, trans. John Keble in *A Library of Fathers*, vol. 18 (London, 1872), pp. 449-500.

might return to his Lord. . . .” Elaborating on this theme, Gregory of Nyssa imagined Christ offering himself as bait to the devil in the domain of death.⁶ Ignorant that Christ was God, the devil greedily took the bait, but by receiving Christ, the devil’s dominion was filled with divine presence and was abolished. Tempering Nyssa’s imagination, his contemporary Gregory the Theologian also spoke of humanity’s salvation from the tyranny of evil spirits.⁷

Veniaminov expressed the same theme in the first part of the *Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven*, a work he authored in Aleut during his ministry on the Islands:

[After the Fall] the most horrible thing of all was that the devil, who is consoled by the sufferings of men, gained power over Adam. . . .

By his resurrection, Jesus Christ destroyed the gates of hell and opened to us the gates of Paradise which had been closed for everyone by Adam’s disobedience; and he conquered and crushed the power of the devil and death, our enemies.⁸

Thus aware of salvation as involving dissociation from demons, the missionary was, therefore, concerned about the kind of spirits which were appearing to Smirennikov. To discern the moral type, Veniaminov employed criteria in the Epistles (1 Cor 12.10) that had been explained in patristics.

⁶Λόγος Κατηχητικός, 22-24, ed. James Herbert Strawley (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 84-94; “The Great Catechism,” pp. 22-24, trans. William Moore and Henry Austin Wilson (Oxford, 1892), in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 5, pp. 492-94.

⁷Λόγος 45.22, PG 36.654; “The Second Oration on Easter” 22, trans. Charles Gordon Browne and James Edward Swallow, in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 7, p. 431.

⁸In *Alaskan Missionary Theology*, pp. 83-84.

For example, *The Life of Anthony*,⁹ explained that discernment between angels and demons was easy when God willed it. The appearance of angels came with tranquility and with joy. If humans were frightened at first, the angels removed fear with joy, as Gabriel had done for Zacharias, as the angel had done at Christ's nativity for the shepherds, and as the angel had done in the sepulchre for the myrrh-bearing women. In contrast, the appearance of demons was troubling. It caused terror and dejection, "craving for evil," and "instability of character."

Similar criteria had been given in many patristic texts, for instance: the *Catechism* by Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,¹⁰ the *Philokalia* (e.g., Evagrius of Pontos,¹¹ and Saint Diadochos of Photike¹²), and the hagiographic *Life of Pachomios*.¹³

In this tradition, Veniaminov questioned Smirennikov not only about the spirits' behavior and teaching, but also about Smirennikov's own response to the spirits. Perceiving that the Aleut was never afraid in their presence, that they edified him, and that Smirennikov was virtuous, Veniaminov discerned them to be angels:

⁹ *Βίος καὶ Πολιτεία τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίου*, pp. 35-36; PG 26.893-97; *Athanasios: The Life of Anthony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. Robert C. Gregg, *Classics of Western Spirituality* (London, 1980), pp. 57-59.

¹⁰ *Κατήχησις* Ε', 13-16; PG 33.935-41; "The Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem" 16.13-16, trans. Edwin Hamilton Gifford (Oxford, 1893), in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 7, pp. 118-19.

¹¹ "To Anatolios: Texts on Active Life" 31, trans. E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer in *Early Fathers from the Philokalia . . . from the Russian Text Dobrotolubiye* (London, 1954), p. 101; also in PG 40.1220.

¹² "On Spiritual Knowledge and Discrimination: One Hundred Texts" 37, in *The Philokalia*, vol. 1, trans. G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard and Kallistos Ware (London, 1979), p. 264.

¹³ In *Pachomian Koinonia* vol. 1: *The Life of St. Pachomius and his Disciples*, trans. Armand Veilleux, *Cistercian Studies Series 45* (Kalamazoo, 1980), p. 356.

[All this] confirmed me in the conviction that the spirits which appear to this old man (if they appear) are not demons. Demons may sometimes assume the image of Angels of Light, but never for the purpose of instruction, teaching, and salvation of human beings, but always for their perdition. As the tree of evil cannot bear the fruit of good, these spirits must be the servants sent to those who seek salvation.¹⁴

Consequently, the missionary told Smirennikov, "I see that the spirits which appear to you are not demons and I, therefore, instruct you to listen to their teaching and instructions. . . ."¹⁵

By combining insight from orthodox patristic tradition with insight into Aleutian Island shamanism, Veniaminov both differentiated between Smirennikov and other shamans and discerned the moral type of spirits assisting this healer and seer. The missionary, therefore, allowed Smirennikov to exercise the charismata that he had received at baptism and to exercise them among the baptized Aleuts.

In this way, the missionary allowed these charismata to be integrated into the developing local church. At the same time, he permitted shamans' social tasks to persist among the baptized Aleuts through Smirennikov. Such persistence undoubtedly facilitated the transition from shamanism to Orthodoxy, for here the shamans' social tasks were being fulfilled by a highly enlightened Christian who had been gifted at baptism.

The successful missionary was able to perceive this and to respond constructively to Smirennikov because Veniaminov relied on insight into native Alaskan culture and on insight from orthodox patristic tradition.

¹⁴"Letter . . . to Michael of Irkutsk . . ." in *Alaska Missionary Spirituality*, p. 134.

¹⁵*Ibid.* pp. 134-35.

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Poverty and Spirituality: Saint Basil and Liberation Theology

PAULO SIEPIERSKI

ONE OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY'S MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO contemporary Christianity is in the field of spirituality. Latin American theologians like Gustavo Gutierrez have rediscovered the place of the poor in the Scriptures and how it affects Christian spirituality. The efforts theologians are making in Latin America, redefining spirituality from the point of view of the poor,¹ in a way recalls the efforts made by Basil the Great, in Cappadocia, sixteen centuries ago.

Basil lived, like liberation theologians live today, in a situation of oppression which automatically generated poverty. His identification with the poor was so deep that he not only wrote on the tension between wealth and poverty, but he actually incarnated the life-style of the poor. Basil is one of the best example for those who, led by the Spirit of God, have committed themselves to the side of the poor.

This paper seeks to fulfill three main purposes. First, an attempt is made to understand the relationship between poverty and spirituality; second, provide an overview of the economic and social conditions of Basil's environment; third, to describe Basil's attitude toward the poor.

¹Cf. Leonardo Boff, "We are quite conscious that any point of view, as that of the liberation theology, is the view of a point. But what point is that? It is the point of view of the poor, of the humble and offended. It starts from the poor's situation; it wants to change the society which creates the poor. The whole system which expels the poor and keeps them marginated is judged from their point of view," *Teologia do Cativo e da Libertacao* (Petropolis, 1985), p. 54.

Poverty and Spirituality

Few words are more vaguely employed than "spirituality" and "poverty"; they are used as if everybody understood their meaning, when in fact it is all too easily possible to conduct a discussion involving them on a basis of complete misunderstanding. Although some manuals² define spirituality simply as an equivalent of ascetic and mystical theology, it has a wider signification. One direct and simple definition is given by Bonner: "An orientation of the mind and will to God expressed in a man (and woman)'s life and teaching."³

Poverty is, in some ways, more difficult to define than spirituality. Gutierrez noted that "poverty is a notion which has received very little theological treatment and in spite of everything is still quite unclear."⁴ Perhaps because the majority of the reflections on the term poverty were made by the rich, since the poor have no tools to elaborate a philosophical reflection, there are many ambiguities in the term. Automatically, the dominant class builds itself a system to explain the reality of the world, but does not care about changing it. The reflections on poverty are probably the best examples of ideological constructions to perpetuate the status quo.

Currently the term "poverty" has two connotations: material poverty and spiritual poverty. The first is "the lack of economic goods necessary for a human life worthy of the name."⁵ This kind of poverty is so inhuman that everybody rejects it, even those who — aware of it or not — cause this poverty. The only exception is found among Christians who voluntarily became poor. While some do so to protest against poverty, others, led by theological misunderstandings, consider material poverty as a religious ideal. This religious assumption is a mistake, because material poverty creates a subhuman situation, and as humankind represents the image of God, any attempt to minimize human life consists in a sin against God the Creator.

The second expression, "spiritual poverty," in the long run, leads to comforting and tranquilizing conclusions, since it is seen simply as an "interior attitude of unattachment"⁶ to the goods of this

²Gerald Bonner, "The Spirituality of St. Augustine and its Influence on Western Mysticism," *Sobornost* 4 (1982) 144.

³Ibid. p. 144.

⁴Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, 1973), p. 288.

⁵Ibid. p. 288.

⁶Ibid. p. 289.

world. This definition of poverty has been present throughout history acting as an ideological element, preventing those who suffer from poverty to organize in the struggle against the conditions they are in and against those who benefit from these conditions.

In order to forge better definitions for the term "poverty," Gutierrez goes to the Bible. There, he works on what he calls "the two major lines of thought . . . poverty as a scandalous condition and poverty as spiritual childhood."⁷

Poverty as a Scandalous Condition

The Bible is simply overwhelming in its emphasis on justice for the poor. From Old Testament to New, the Bible sees poverty as rooted in oppression. Thus, "in the Bible poverty is a scandalous condition inimical to human dignity and therefore contrary to the will of God."⁸

In the Old Testament there are a number of Hebrew words that are often translated as "poor."⁹ These are as follows:

1. *'ani* which in its most fully developed use describes a situation of inferiority in relation to another. Concretely the *'ani* is one who is dependent. When used in combination with *dal* it describes an economic relationship. The contrary of the *'ani* is the oppressor or user of violence. God is protector of the *'anim* because they are people who have been impoverished through injustice.

2. *dal* is used in two senses: it may refer either to physical weakness or to a lowly, insignificant position in society.

3. *'ebion* often refers to those who are very poor and in a wretched state. Originally it meant someone who asks for alms, a beggar.

4. *rash* is the poor or needy person; its antithesis is the rich person. The social and economic meaning is the prominent one.

5. *misken* means "dependent," a social inferior.

In the New Testament the Greek *ptochós* refers to the poor as oppressed and exploited, humiliated and enslaved to victims of injustice, to those dehumanized and made non-persons. The poor are those reduced to the condition of diminished worth and capacity not

⁷Ibid. p. 291.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Elsa Tamez, "Good News for the Poor," Deane W. Ferm (ed.) *Third World Liberation Theologies* (Maryknoll, 1986), p. 193.

by their mistake but by the action of the dominant class.¹⁰

Especially the prophets, Luke, and James condemn every kind of abuse, every form of keeping the poor in poverty or of creating new poor people. There are three principal reasons in these books for such rigorous repudiation of poverty: First, poverty contradicts "the very meaning of the Mosaic religion," since "Moses led his people out of the slavery, exploitation, and alienation of Egypt so that they might inhabit a land where they could live with human dignity."¹¹

The second reason is that poverty goes against the mandate of Genesis 1.26 and 2.15. The exploitation and injustice implicit in poverty "make 'work' into something servile and dehumanizing."¹² The last reason is that since humankind is "the sacrament of God,"¹³ to oppress the poor is to offend God himself; to know God is to work justice among humankind.

Poverty as Spiritual Childhood

There is a second line of thinking concerning poverty in the Bible. The concept of the poor as destitute, materially poor and oppressed, undergoes a change¹⁴ and gets a religious or spiritual connotation during and after the Exile. The poor are those who are humble and simple, who do not rely on themselves but place their entire trust in God, and look up to him for their protection and deliverance. This is "spirit of poverty" and "poverty of spirit," or "religious poverty." It is a detachment from earthly goods and human power and an attachment to God and reliance on him and his saving action. The opposite of the poor are the proud, who are the enemy of Yahweh and the helpless.

Spiritual poverty finds its highest expression in the Beatitudes

¹⁰D. S. Amalorpavadass, "The Poor With No Voice and No Power," in Giuseppe Alberigo and Gustavo Gutierrez (eds.) *Where Does the Church Stand?* (New York, 1981), p. 50.

¹¹Gutierrez, *A Theology*, p. 294.

¹²Ibid. p. 295.

¹³Ibid. p. 295. "In a word, the existence of poverty represents a sundering of solidarity among men (humankind) and also of communion with God. Poverty is an expression of a sin, that is, of a negation of love. It is therefore incompatible with the coming of the kingdom of God, a kingdom of love and justice."

¹⁴'ani becomes 'anaw.

of the New Testament. Liberation theologians have been working a lot on Matthew 5.1 ("Blessed are the poor in spirit") and Luke 6.20 ("Blessed are you poor"). This interpretation of Matthew of what Jesus said in the Sermon on the Mount lead Gutierrez to state that spiritual poverty is to be totally at the disposition of the Lord. This poverty has "no relationship to wealth"; in the first instance, it is not a question of indifference to the goods of this world. It goes deeper than that, "it means to have no other sustenance than the will of God."¹⁵

The other text, Luke 6.20, cannot be talking about material poverty, argues Gutierrez, otherwise it "would lead to the canonization of a social class." However, it is impossible to avoid the concrete and "material" meaning which the term "poor" has for Luke. Gutierrez's interpretation, then, is that Christ is not saying, "Accept your poverty because later this injustice will be compensated for in the kingdom of God"; but that the poor are blessed because the kingdom of God has begun.

In other words, the elimination of the exploitation and poverty that prevent the poor from being fully human has begun; a kingdom of justice which goes even beyond what they could have hoped for has begun. They are blessed because the coming of the kingdom will put an end to their poverty by creating a world of brotherhood. They are blessed because the Messiah will open the eyes of the blind and will give bread to the hungry.¹⁶

Spiritual childhood is one of the most important concepts in the Gospel, for it describes the outlook of the person who accepts the gift of divine filiation and responds to it by building fellowship. Such is the attitude to the Lord and to one's neighbor that is required for entering into the world of the poor. It is even something more: an indispensable condition for this solidarity. Only by becoming a child can one enter the kingdom of heaven (Mt 18.3). The same spiritual childhood is required for entering the world of the poor — those for whom the God of the Kingdom has a preferential love.¹⁷

¹⁵Gutierrez, *A Theology*, p. 297.

¹⁶Ibid. p. 299.

¹⁷Gustavo Gutierrez, *We Drink From Our Own Wells* (Maryknoll, 1984), p. 127.

In other words, in order to enter either the kingdom of God or the kingdom of the poor, one needs to have the same "pauper-tropism"¹⁸ God has shown through history.

Poverty as Solidarity and Protest

Christian poverty is solidarity with the poor and is a protest against poverty. Christian poverty has meaning only as a commitment of solidarity with the poor, with those who suffer misery and injustice. Gutierrez sees in the *kenosis* (Phil 2.6-11) Christ's solidarity with humankind who, in humanity suffer the sinful condition and its consequences.¹⁹

Solidarity with the poor means to protest and struggle against human selfishness and everything that divides humankind and makes possible the existence of rich and poor, possessors and dispossessed, oppressors and oppressed. This solidarity and protest have an evident and inevitable "political" character insofar as they imply liberation. Therefore, to be in solidarity with the poor means to run personal risks, since it goes against the established order (or disorder).

However, it is necessary to pay the price in order to be on God's side in this matter:

Only authentic solidarity with the poor and a real protest against the poverty of our time can provide the concrete, vital context necessary for a theological discussion of poverty. The absence of a sufficient commitment to the poor, the marginated, and the exploited is perhaps the fundamental reason why we have no solid contemporary reflection on the witness of poverty.²⁰

Christian poverty is to be experienced as an act of liberation and love for the poor of this world, (and simultaneously as an act of liberation and love for the rich, freeing them from selfishness), as solidarity with the poor and a protest against the poverty in which they live, as as identification with the interests of the oppressed classes, and

¹⁸"Paupertropism" is a tropism in which poor is the orienting stimulus. I have coined this term to mean God's innate affinity to the poor. Perhaps "ptochotropism" is more correct in terms of linguistics, but "pauper-tropism" sounds better.

¹⁹Gutierrez, *A Theology*, p. 300.

²⁰Ibid. p. 302.

as a challenge to the exploitation and alienation of which they are victims. If the ultimate cause of the exploitation and alienation of humankind is selfishness, the basic reason for voluntary poverty is love of one's neighbor. Poverty — the result of social injustice which has in sin its deepest roots — is assumed, not in order to make it an ideal life, but to witness against the evil which it represents.

In the same way, Christ assumed the sinful condition and its consequences, certainly not to idealize it, but to live and identify with humankind, and to redeem humanity from sin. He did it to fight against human selfishness, and abolished all injustice and division among humankind. He did it to suppress those conditions which produce rich and poor, exploiters and exploited. The witness of poverty which is lived as an authentic imitation of Christ does not withdraw us from the world, but places us in the very heart of the situation of pillage and oppression and from there announces liberation and full communion with the Lord. Spiritual poverty as total dispensability for God is announced and lived out.

Basil's Social and Economic Reality

The picture which comes from Basil's works of the condition of the government in the Eastern Empire is by no means favorable. Conquering armies have been conquered in their turn, and become spectacles of misery; great and victorious cities have been reduced to slavery. The misery of the people was very great.²¹

Caesarea had risen to wealth and importance as the manufacturing and business center of a large province almost destitute of towns, and was said to contain 400,000 people in A.D. 260.²² However, in A.D. 371-72 Cappadocia was divided by Valens into two provinces, Prima and Secunda. Caesarea remained the capital of Prima and Tyana was made the capital of the new province. All the cities except Caesarea belonged to Secunda, and Cappadocia Prima concentrated imperial lands.²³

²¹Richard Travers Smith, *St. Basil the Great* (New York, 1879), p. 64.

²²W. K. Lowther Clarke, *St. Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 17.

²³A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937), p. 185. See also Raymond Van Dam, "Emperor, Bishops, and Friends in Late Antique Cappadocia," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 37 (1986) 53-76.

Basil writes, on the occasion of the division of the province, that the order of society is quite broken up, that on account of the treatment dealt out to the magistrates the members of the civic administration have fled to the country, and their town, which formerly had been the resort of learned people as well as a place of wealth, had become a lamentable spectacle of decay.

And I say that no ship at sea, overwhelmed by violent winds, has ever disappeared from sight so suddenly, no city destroyed by earthquakes or flooded by waters ever met with such total obliteration, as our city, swallowed up by this new administration of affairs, has suffered complete destruction.²⁴

Moreover, other acts, both natural and human-made, worsened the city's social conditions. Poverty was an endemic social phenomenon. The plight of the poor and destitute beggars and the circumstances under which ordinary laborers and artisans lived were extremely difficult, not only because of the apathy of the rich and the arrogance of the powerful, but also because of the climatic conditions that prevailed in Anatolia. Basil speaks of the extreme cold in winter and the extreme heat in summer. In his letters he complains of unpredictable hailstorms, cloud bursts, torrents, furious rains, heavy snowfalls, floods, and droughts.²⁵

Those were hard times. Famine resulting from the poor harvest had struck the land, and the people suffered the consequences: "The shortage in food supplies and other goods drove prices sky-high, and the black market flourished."²⁶ While all classes of people were affected by natural catastrophes, "the life of the poor was made even more intolerable by additional man- (and woman)-made causes."²⁷

Basil describes the state of the poor as a shame to the rich Christians. Many poor people walked around in "ill smelling rags." Others

²⁴Basil, *Epistle* 76. Trans. Agnes Clare Way, *Saint Basil Letters*, volume 1, trans. Agnes Clare Way (New York, 1951), p. 182.

²⁵*Ibid.*; see *Epistles* 30, 48, 112, 156, 198, 242, 321.

²⁶Ioannes Karayannopoulos, "St. Basil's Social Activity: Principle and Praxis," Paul J. Fedwick (ed.) *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic* (Toronto, 1981), p. 375.

²⁷Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Basil the Great's Social Thought and Involvement," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 83.

had no money and no clothes, and their possessions were worth only a few obols. Some were willing to sell their children into slavery²⁸ in order to buy bread and prevent the death of the other members of the family. Others preferred death to selling any of their kin. Great numbers of poor people died of starvation between 368 and 375. These misfortunes gave Basil the opportunity to demonstrate an admirable and social behavior.

Basil's Attitude Toward the Poor

Basil was born in Asia Minor and is sometimes called the father of Eastern monasticism. He had become acquainted with monastic life in Syria, Mesopotamia, and especially in Egypt, and eventually he was to exert a strong influence on all of Christian monasticism.

Following his journey to the centers of religious life where he observed the various types of monastic observance at first hand, Basil settled in his Cappadocian homeland around 360, with the purpose of becoming a monk. His first significant step was to distribute to the poor the larger part of his possessions, which he had inherited from his father,²⁹ and with a group of like-minded companions he settled down to community religious life. "He was not, however, destined to remain a monk: in a few years he was called from his retreat to become active in the administration of the Church and to spend his life as a busy bishop."³⁰

His life as bishop was entirely dedicated to the poor. Beside the biblical orientation, Basil's great concern for the poor lies in two very important concepts present in his writings: *koinonia* and *polis*. Only through communion (*koinonia*) with God and their neighbors can human beings achieve perfection, and the more intimate that com-

²⁸Although it sounds abhorrent, it could actually be beneficial since the owners were inclined to protect their slaves once the slaves represented economic possessions. The poor, on the contrary, had no one to take care of them. See Ramon Teja, "San Basilio y la Esclavitud: Teoría y Praxis," Fedwick (ed.) *Basil of Caesarea*, pp. 393-403.

²⁹The historians who have worked on Basil have accepted that he belonged to a family of wealthy landowners, whose large estates spread over three provinces. See Thomas A. Kopecek, "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," *Church History* 42 (1973) 453-66.

³⁰Philip F. Mulhern, *Dedicated Poverty* (Staten Island, 1972), p. 58.

munion, the more perfect human beings are.³¹ Society (*polis*) is the milieu where *koinonia* takes place, because *polis* is "a gathering together of men (and women) of diverse customs and habits, converging for the sake of the common good."³²

When humankind, through a natural need, converges into society, the ultimate end of society becomes the ultimate end of its units, of the individuals composing the society. The immediate purpose of the convergence, as a means to humankind's final end, is the complete realization of the individual's capacities, a realization which could never be effected without the convergence. Once converged, the immediate end of society as a whole and of its directive power is the maintenance of conditions essential to the self-realization of the individual members.

For the society, therefore, to place conditions that would lead man (and woman) away from the complete realization of his (or her) capacities and thereby hinder him (or her) from obtaining, as a means to his (or her) final end, the perfecting of his (or her) humanity is an offense not only against the very nature of society but also against justice.³³

The Condemnation of the Rich

The offenses against the natural and divine law of God, both of a social and moral nature, committed by the licentious, greed and avaricious wealthy class in Basil's time, are vividly depicted in his homilies: *On Wealth*, *On Luke 12*, and *In Times of Famine and Scarcity*.

A foremost evil of the times was the inordinant avarice and greed of the wealthy farmers and landowners. They, most avaricious of acquiring more land, persecuted their neighbors, encroached upon the poorer's properties and forced the poorer to sell their land, even though the poorer had no intentions of doing so. Basil gives ample evidence of these facts when he writes:

³¹Paul J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto, 1974), p. 17. See also John D. Zizioulas, "The Early Christian Community," Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (eds) *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1985), p. 27.

³²Basil, *Commentary on Isaiah*, PG 30.149.

³³Gerald F. Reilly, *Imperium and Sacerdotium According to St. Basil the Great* (Washington, 1945), p. 95.

The rich yokes the oxen, ploughs, sows and reaps what does not belong to him. If you oppose him, blows follow. If you complain, you are accused of insulting him, made a slave, put in prison and false witnesses are ready to imperil your life.³⁴

Basil accuses the rich landowner of shamelessly appropriating desirable lands of others and adding them to his already extensive possessions, of being cruel in his oppression of the poor, unjustly appropriating their property and enslaving the people. It should not be this way, because the poor and the rich are all fellow slaves (*homo-doulos*),³⁵ and "all goods have, according to Basil, a social destination and utility."³⁶

Although the rich own vast estates they are never content, for the more they have, the more they seek to acquire. Nothing is able to withstand the passion for wealth or the will of the wealthy person:

The sea respects the boundaries assigned it, the night observes its limits, but the greedy person respects neither time nor measure, observes no rule of order, but resembles a fire which seizes and devours all things.³⁷

To lessen greed and to foster charity, Basil strongly urged the rich "to imitate the earth, to produce like it, and not to show themselves inferior to an inanimate being."³⁸

Of equal and economic harm with the rich farmers' avaricious desire of obtaining more land was the evil of hoarding the produce of their fields, while the needy were dying of hunger. "The granaries were overflowing, but remained locked, sealed and chained in the farmers' anticipation of gaining a higher price during the time of need."³⁹ Direct poverty and hunger of the worst nature, the result of hoarding food and grain on the part of the rich

³⁴Basil, *Homily on Wealth*, PG 31.293-95.

³⁵Stanislaus Giet, *Les Idées et l'Action Sociales de Saint Basile* (Paris, 1941), p. 33.

³⁶Ibid. p. 96.

³⁷Basil, *Homily on Wealth*, PG 31.293.

³⁸Basil, *Homily on Luke 12*, PG 31.265.

³⁹Reilly, *Imperium*, p. 103.

farmers, forced the poor to take their children to market and offer them for sale, to avert death from starvation. To avoid that, Basil exhorted the rich farmers not to be more irrational than the animals.

For these use the produce of the earth in common. Flocks of sheep feed on the same mountain-side, horses in the same field . . . but we hide in our bosoms the possessions that ought to be common to all.⁴⁰

The wealthy class, parallel to its avarice and greed, had a great love for gold and a similar lack of charity. The rich, according to Basil, feel no pain when spending money for their horses,⁴¹ but they weep to give up any to the poor. They cover their walls with the finest tapestries and adorn their horses, but not their poor brother covered with rags.⁴²

Basil pleaded with the dominant class to circulate its gold. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few was taking the poor to starvation.

Just as you build thousands of canals to distribute the waters of a large river over the land which is to be cultivated, so allow your wealth to pass through diverse paths to reach the homes of the needy.⁴³

Basil "called the man (or woman) who could help the needy but keeps his (or her) possessions to himself (or herself) a 'robber and a thief.' "⁴⁴ Basil's suggestion to eliminate poverty was in a socialist fashion, like that in Exodus 16.18.

⁴⁰Basil, *Homily on Times of Famine and Scarcity*, PG 31.325.

⁴¹Cappadocia was famous for its horses. See Reilly, *Imperium*, p. 101. By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that in the U. S. "sales of cat food have doubled since 1979, to more than \$2 billion a year, surpassing the baby-food market, according to SAMI-Bueke, Inc., a marketing research company," *New York Times* (April 23, 1987) 18.

⁴²Basil, *Homily on Wealth*, PG 31.288.

⁴³Basil, *Homily on Luke 12*, PG 31.272.

⁴⁴Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church* (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 2.

If only each one would take as much as he or she requires to satisfy his or her immediate needs, and leave the rest to others who equally needed it, no one would be rich — and no one would be poor.⁴⁵

The Relief of the Poor

In contradistinction to the attitude of the dominant class, Basil made the cause of the poor his own, putting aside everything else to obtain help and relief for them. During the great famine of 368, besides delivering sermons against the wealthy class,

he himself organized free meals for all the poor, including visiting foreigners, Christians, pagans, and Jews alike. It was during that social crisis that he dispersed the remaining portion of his paternal inheritance in order to help the poor.⁴⁶

Later on, following his ordination in the episcopate in 370, Basil used the inheritance from his mother's side to establish a complex of institutions — a general hospital, an orphanage, an old-age home, a hospice for poor travellers and visitors, a hospital for infectious diseases, and an institution for indigent people, where Basil took up residence. The immediate success and rapid growth of the complex, called by Gregory the Theologian “a new city,”⁴⁷ attested its urgent need.

Basil saw poverty as a scandalous condition and fought against it. Although he came from a wealthy family his “paupertropism” led him to be poor, giving his possessions to poor people. He did it in order to increase the spiritual life of the sufferers through nourishing them in both body and soul. In doing that he demonstrated poverty of spirit, detachment from earthly goods and attachment to God. He discovered it is impossible to be simultaneously rich, honest, and unselfish.

Moreover, Basil's commitment to the poor provided the concrete context necessary for a theological discussion of poverty. His solidarity with the poor and his protest against selfish rich people are attested not only in his writings but also in his deeds.

⁴⁵Basil, *Homily on Luke 12*, PG 31.276.

⁴⁶Constantelos, “Basil,” p. 85.

⁴⁷Reilly, *Imperium*, p. 125.

Basil, "a man possessed of personal holiness,"⁴⁸ stands as an example for those committed to the kingdom of God, those who want to liberate the people of God from the oppression to which many are subject. He believed that the Christians neglect their role if theology is pursued in academic, monastic, or ecclesiastical isolation from social existence. Theology exists for the ministry of the Church, and the ministry of the Church exists for society and the world, to personify the critical and transforming energy of human existence. Basil's life "inspires admiration and even imitation."⁴⁹

⁴⁸Robert L. Wilken, "Testimonia Patrum (11,)" *Una Sancta* 24 (1967) 77.

⁴⁹Constantelos, "Basil," p. 81.

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“Rational Medicine” in the Orthodox Tradition

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

FROM THE BEGINNING, WHEN IT CAME INTO CONTACT WITH the Greco-Roman world, the Church established and maintained a paradoxical relationship toward it. Scholars have searched the Scriptures and the patristic tradition and have been able to find at least three approaches toward the “world” and its values. One view has emphasized the contrasts between the life of faith and the values of the world. Thus, Tertullian (160-220 A.D.) was able to ask the famous question, “What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem?”¹ fully expecting that the self-evident answer was negative. This view drew a sharp line between the Christian truth, on the one hand, and what was viewed as the distorted and valueless pronouncements of the unenlightened philosophers and purveyors of “false knowledge,” on the other.

Very few voices within the Church were willing to go to the other extreme: exalting secular philosophical truth above the pronouncements of the Orthodox faith. Those who did

¹*De praescriptione haereticorum*, 7.3. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 3, p. 246. He continues, “What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? What between heretics and Christians? Our instruction comes from the porch of Solomon, who himself taught that the Lord should be sought in simplicity of heart. Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic composition. We want no curious disputation after possessing Jesus Christ, no research after enjoying the Gospel! With our faith we desire no further belief.”

were almost universally condemned as teaching heresy. Such were the Gnostics of the early Church whose regard for the Neo-platonist philosophers was so high that they reinterpreted the plain teachings of Scriptures and the proclaimed faith of the Church into a fantastic world view. These teachings were readily exposed and condemned by early church Fathers, such as Irenaeus of Lyons (130-200).²

Though in later years Byzantine writers, such as Gemistos Plethon, Michael Psellos and John Italos, were charged with an improper devotion to the secular teachings of the philosophers, they all defended themselves by appealing to the universally recognized Orthodox Fathers for justification of their scholarly and humanistic interests.³

The third attitude to worldly knowledge, science and culture was the main line approach of the Cappadocian Fathers (Saint Basil the Great, Saint Gregory the Theologian, and Saint Gregory of Nyssa) and Saint John Chrysostom. The Cappadocians have been described as the "three brilliant leaders of philosophical Christian Orthodoxy in the later fourth century."⁴ Earlier, an appreciative, yet critical and eclectic view of non-revelatory knowledge had been expressed by the Apologist, Justin Martyr (100-165). In his "First Apology,"⁵ he expounded the doctrine of the "Spermatic Word" which held that truth is one, and that in its fullness it had been revealed in the true "Word," Jesus Christ.⁶ Significantly, in the original Greek language, "Word" is "*Logos*," the same term used to denote reason and logic.

²*Against Heresies*. A translation of the Greek title is illustrative of this perspective: *Censure and Refutation of the Falsely-named Knowledge*, *ibid.* 1, pp. 315-67.

³For a brief illustrative description of these conflicts, see the section titled "Philosophers and theologians: individual heretics: ecclesiastical currents" in J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 142-46.

⁴"Cappadocian Fathers," in *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London, 1963), p. 234.

⁵*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1, pp. 163-86.

⁶See Chapter 1 of the Gospel of John.

Thus, Justin taught that the "Logos," who was Jesus Christ, was also present wherever truth was taught and explicated. Christ himself was like a seed scattered in every expression of knowledge, science and culture. The concern was to sift the chaff from the seed, so as to isolate the true from the false. In this way, Justin introduced for Christians a principle of discrimination in reference to all non-revelatory knowledge.

A few centuries later Saint Basil counseled that the education of young Christians should be eclectic, rejecting what was false and harmful according to the Christian faith, and embracing as valuable and appropriate all the rest. Of this work, titled *Exhortation to Youths as to How They Shall Best Profit by the Writings of Pagan Authors*, a scholar has said,

The exhortation is written with extraordinary feeling for the lasting values of Hellenistic learning and its broad-mindedness has had a strong influence on the attitude of the Church toward the classical tradition. Basil is fully aware of the advantage of an erudition which combines the Christian truth with the inherited culture.⁷

In this spirit, the Cappadocians, Chrysostom, and many other acknowledged Fathers of the Church have recourse to non-revelatory knowledge with appreciation. A noted scholar of the Byzantine period concludes that

Orthodoxy thus regarded pagan philosophy as an ancillary to theology which could be used only so long as it did not conflict with Christian doctrine. After all, even the reverend John of Damascus had extensively drawn on Aristotelian logic in the first part of his *Fount of Knowledge*⁸

⁷Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1966), 3, p. 215.

⁸Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, p. 143.

One of the spheres of knowledge most readily adopted, was the rational medicine of the epoch in which the Fathers of the Church lived. Several writers in the history of the Church studied and wrote about the physical and biological side of human life in addition to the spiritual, drawing on the sciences of their day. Examples of these are Nemesios, Bishop of Emesa, and Meletios the Monk.⁹ Fathers of the Church, such as Saint John Chrysostom and the Cappadocian Father, Saint Basil, indicate an appreciation for and use of rational medicine.

The two Cappadocians, Saint Gregory the Theologian and Saint Gregory of Nyssa, were appreciative of the contributions of rational medicine. Saint Gregory the Theologian (329-389) had much appreciation for the medical arts, and his writings reflect both the professional practitioner's knowledge and the ideals regarding medicine. His definition of medicine was "a system and an art; the fruit of philosophy (i.e., knowledge), labor, and industry." His writings show a recognition of advances in medical research in his time. Like all of the Eastern Fathers he saw close connections between body and soul.

In his writings, "the other Gregory," Bishop of Nyssa (330-395), made significant references to most phases of medicine known in his day: clinical medicine; physicians; pathology; therapeutic methods, including the use of varied and sundry drugs and medications; as well as surgery. He described the physician as attending to ills both of body and spirit, i.e., the whole person, and thought that demonic origins to illness were to be diagnosed only in unusual circumstances.¹⁰

⁹See my essays, "Christian Faith Concerning Creation and Biology"; in *La Theologie dans L' Eglise et dans le Monde* (Chambesy-Geneve, 1984), pp. 226-47; and, "The Eastern Orthodox Tradition" in *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Tradition* (New York, 1986), pp. 146-72.

¹⁰Mary Emily Keenan, "Gregory of Nazianzus and Early Byzantine Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 9 (1941) 8-30; _____, "St. Gregory of Nyssa and the Medical Profession," *ibid.* 15 (1944) 150-61.

Yet, such affirmations — given the background out of which these and other church Fathers spoke — could not be unequivocal. Medicine, as one of the many non-revelatory disciplines of human knowledge, could not stand as autonomous nor completely distinct from the source of truth, who is God. The spiritual would have precedence. In summarizing this attitude, Darrel W. Amundsen, a historian of the patristic approach to medicine came to the following conclusions:

What, then, is the essence of the attitudes of the Fathers to the use of medicine? Medicines and the skill of physicians are blessings from God. It is not *eo ipso* wrong for a Christian to employ them, but it is sinful to put one's faith in them entirely since, when they are effective, it is only because their efficacy comes from God who can heal without them. Thus, to resort to physicians without first placing one's trust in God is both foolish and sinful. Likewise to reject medicine and the medical arts entirely is not only not recommended but is disparaged.¹¹

To the Eastern Orthodox mind, this view is not irrational nor illogical. It is simply one more instance of the paradoxical nature of truth. Just as God is at once both one and a trinity of divine persons; just as Christ is one person who is both fully divine and fully human; just as human beings are free and self-determining, yet only achieve the fullness of their humanity in servitude to the Lord God, so this truth is paradoxical as well. Some of the church Fathers emphasized the discontinuity and transcendence of faith and non-revelatory knowledge, while others focused on their communion and continuity. But for both, in the last analysis, they were held together in a single comprehensive truth. So it was

¹¹Darrel W. Amundsen, "Medicine and Faith in Early Christianity," *ibid.* 56 (1982) 341.

regarding the relationship of rational medicine and spiritual healing to human health. Orthodox Christianity throughout its history has preferred to use another word to describe these paradoxes: *mysterion*. Rational medicine proved to be very important for the Church, but it fit into a larger pattern which would not be reduced to an amalgam with the traditions of spiritual healing, but which also would not permit scientific medicine to be sharply divided from them. This too, was a *mysterion* of truth not only to be taught and proclaimed, but to be put into practice and to be lived.

Rational Medicine in Orthodox Environments

How did rational medicine fare in the historic environments of the Orthodox Christian tradition? Was this science suppressed, or did it flourish? Given the tremendous importance of the Orthodox Church for the public and social life of one of its most representative periods — Byzantium — this is a significant question.

Until a short time ago, the answer given to this question in standard histories of medicine published in the non-Orthodox West was in the negative. In the "Introduction" of a ground-breaking scholarly work on medicine in Byzantium, we thus read this assessment by editor John Scarborough of older views regarding the science of medicine in that Orthodox Christian commonwealth.

Among medical historians, the commonly held opinion of Byzantine medicine is one of stagnation, plagiarism of the great medical figures of classical antiquity, and a somber boredom that seemingly awaited the Italian Renaissance . . .

Typical is Majno's ". . . after Galen, the history (of medicine) grinds to a halt for at least one thousand years."¹²

¹²John Scarborough, ed., *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine: Dumbarton*

The same author continues, “Fortunately, a slowly growing number of scholars have challenged this Gibbonesque attitude toward the medicine of a millennium, in one of the great civilizations of history.”¹³ We need to be careful not to overstate the truth about Byzantine medicine, as its story is corrected. Nothing in Eastern or Western Christendom’s pre-nineteenth-century history compares with the advances of science and medicine, in particular, of the present period. In large part these advances have taken place by sharply disengaging the development of rational medicine from all other concerns, including religious values. The medical technologies which have developed in the modern era are light-years away from the rudimentary and limited knowledge of the whole period preceding the modern age. Yet today, even a cursory familiarity with the concerns of medical science recognizes that modern medicine is now grappling with the need to re-integrate much of what it does into the whole range of human life and concerns, that is, to humanize medicine. The rise of the discipline of bioethics is a witness to this development. Perhaps one of the most powerful voices, among many, in this direction belongs to physician-author Leon R. Kass, in his book *Toward a More Natural Science: Biology and Human Affairs*.¹⁴ Only in that context and with this understanding, can we then positively assess the tradition of Byzantine medicine.

What emerges from this new range of studies in the history of medicine is the fact that — contrary to the earlier negative evaluations — Byzantine rational medicine was remarkably developed. Knowledge is now emerging from previously unexamined historical documentation which witnesses to a development of rational medicine significantly more

Oaks Papers Number Thirty-Eight, 1984. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Washington, D.C., 1985), p. ix.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴(New York, 1985).

advanced than that which existed in Western Christendom during the more than twelve-hundred-year existence of what historian Arnold Toynbee has called the "Orthodox Christian Civilization" of Byzantium.¹⁵ One of the most important books documenting this new appreciation is the product of the annual Washington, D.C. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium held in 1983 on the topic of Byzantine Medicine, edited by John Scarborough whose "Introduction" was referred to above.¹⁶ His general assessment of rational medicine in Byzantium, after all the qualifiers have been made, is impressive:

Literary sources further verify the typical pre-supposition of a sophisticated medical knowledge, widely diffused among the upper strata of the Byzantine Empire; such medicine was practiced by skilled professionals, well schooled in the theory of medicine.¹⁷

The medical sources also disclose a lively and constant activity. Old traditions and fresh observations are re-worked, recombined, and reorganized according to the shifting needs of Byzantine society.¹⁸

The Dumbarton Oaks publication *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine* includes twenty-one papers by specialists who examine a wide range of topics dealing with medicine in Byzantium. Many of these deal with the relationship of medicine and religion and many of the others rely on religiously oriented writings which both directly and indirectly provide evidence of the state of the discipline of medicine. For

¹⁵Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*. Abridgment by D. C. Somervell (New York, 1953).

¹⁶See note 12.

¹⁷*Medicine*, p. x.

¹⁸*Ibid.* p. xi.

example, in an article by John Duffin, titled, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Aspects of Teaching and Practice,"¹⁹ we are informed of the methods of medical education, including the time-honored method of apprenticeship, as well as structured study at medical schools. In addition, there is a rather full description of the life of one of Byzantium's best known physicians, Alexander of Tralles, whose work was not based only on the writings of the ancients, but on his own experience and observations, and which he recorded near the end of his life in a therapeutic handbook for the benefit of other physicians.

Space does not allow a review of all of the pertinent articles in this important collection of historical studies, but there is no question that the cumulative effect is to justify the total revision of the significance and place of medicine in Byzantium as a developed science and clinical system in the history of medicine.

Other published studies support this judgment as well. A major figure in these studies is Dr. Aristotle Chr. Eutychiades, who is associated with the Medical School of the University of Athens in the field of the history of medicine. His published work can be classified as dealing with two areas: the first is the place of the physician in Byzantine society, with special reference to Byzantine law.²⁰ The English summary of this volume prepared by the author indicates a sophisticated involvement and professional sense of responsibility regarding the practice of medicine in Byzantine society.

During the Byzantine period many themes concerning the practice of medicine and its social applications appear.

Such problems are the recognition of scientific medicine

¹⁹Ibid. pp. 21.

²⁰*Η Άσκησης της Βυζαντινής Ιατρικής επιστήμης και κοινωνικαί εφαρμογαί αυτής κατά σχετικὰς διατάξεις* (Athens, 1983).

and the condemnation of quackery, the social position of doctors, the relations between doctor and patient, the social behavior of physicians, medical malpractice and its punishment, physicians' salary and taxation, their privileges, special medical services, such as certifications for granting pensions because of disease or senility or release from the army, medico-legal problems, medical opinions about the possibility of making a will or a valid marriage, antenuptial medical control, birth control, public hygiene and quackery . . .

Other themes are studied concerning the circulation and control of medications, their price, the prohibition of narcotics, regulation of the pharmacies, the foundation, administration and function of hospitals, their staffing, the institution of social service personnel, the female doctor and her position, social care offered by the State, church and private initiative. Also treated is the Church's approval of the scientific practice of medicine, condemnation of witchcraft-medicine, and recommendation of the theoretical basis for dealing with some medical and social problems.

These themes are treated on the basis of imperial chrysobulls, novellas, state, ecclesiastical and private regulations, laws, constitutions, regulations, legislation, patriarchal and monastic papers, private wills, and documents of the Byzantine period of a thousand years.²¹

Eftychiades is of the opinion that "the practice of Byzantine medicine has a character of originality and innovation. It constitutes a model even for modern medical thought and the social behavior of physicians, as well as for contemporary social applications of medical science."²² In the area of

²¹Ibid. pp. 95-96. The translation has been revised to conform with American English usage.

²²Ibid.

pathology, he has traced, for example, the views of the Byzantine physicians, Neophytos, Maximos Planoudes, and John, Bishop of Prisdyanon, on cancer, and described the state of diagnosis and treatment of diseases of the liver in Byzantium.²³ The English summary of the latter study is illustrative of the state of Byzantine medicine in regard to the pathologies related to a single organ, the liver:

Liver diseases, according to the texts of the more important medical authors from Hippocrates (V. c.a.C.) until Ioannes Actuarius (XIV c.p.C.) are studied, such as acute hepatitis, jaundice obstructive, hemolytic, acute yellow atrophy of the liver, chronic hepatitis and cirrhosis with ascites, cholangiitis, abscess of the gall bladder, and cancer of the liver. The nomenclature, the symptoms, the etiology, and the treatment of them are discussed. The therapy depends on the disease but generally includes: sanitary and nutritional factors, physiotherapy, special baths, drinking mineral water, heliotherapy, phlebotomy, cupping, purgation, surgical operation, and the use of medications. These chemical, animal, and botanical substances were offered: a) Orally as antidotus, decoctions, zupia, tablets, drings pastilli (trochisci), drossata; b) with the method of fumigations, steams and inhalations; c) as ceratae (waxed) plasters, poultices; d) as powders or drops through the nose; and e) as suppositories. Definitions, method of diagnosis, etiology, and treatment of liver cancer are specially noted.²⁴

This kind of approach to medicine hardly supports the judgment of a medical historian writing in 1921, who said of medicine in Byzantium that "Medicine of any pretense

²³*Ελληνική Ογκολογία* 17/2 (1981) 109-16, and *Ιπποκράτης* 10/4 (1982) 351-62.

²⁴*Ibid.* p. 362. The text is modified to conform with American English usage.

to a scientific quality thus passed . . . into slumber.’’²⁵ Nevertheless, the purpose of presenting this information here is not to provide a history of Byzantine medicine. Rather, it is to show that in the cultural, spiritual, religious, public and political environment of Byzantium, so thoroughly imbued with Orthodox Christianity, rational medicine found an hospitable and encouraging environment. This is but one side of the whole picture, but it is important to affirm it.

The Byzantine Hospital and the Orthodox Church

Throughout the whole history of Byzantium there was always a minority voice which minimized the value of rational medicine and preferred to trust God and his saints for healing. Nevertheless, this was not true of the standard practice and teaching in the Church.

Rational medicine found, generally speaking, an hospitable environment in Byzantium, not only from the state apparatus which provided support, protection, and regulation for it, as noted above, but also from the Church. Not only did well-known Fathers of the Church speak favorably of physicians and their medical art, but many were fond of using medical analogies for the spiritual work of the Church. Clement of Alexandria, early in the history of the Church, adapts that metaphor of the physician to Christ, and with him the whole Christian patristic tradition assumed a similar perspective: “. . . the Word of the Father, who made man, cares for the whole nature of his creature; the all-sufficient Physician of humanity, the Savior, heals both body and soul.’’²⁶

The Fathers also compared medical methodologies for the healing of the body, with spiritual methods for the healing of the soul. They found many analogies between them. Thus, Chrysostom, in speaking of the need to change the

²⁵T. C. Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome* (London, 1921), p. 394.

²⁶*The Instructor*, 1.2. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1, p. 210.

patterns of sinful living argued: "For the physicians, too, give us directions to cure contraries by contraries. Is fever, for instance, produced by a full diet? They subject the disease to the regimen of abstinence. . . . Thus also it befits us to act, with respect to the diseases of the soul."²⁷ In the same work, as Chrysostom encourages his audience to help others to stop sinning, he projects as a salutary example the concern and care of those physicians who go to great lengths to seek the cure of their patients.

Show thy charity toward the sinner. Persuade him that it is from care and anxiety for his welfare, and not from a wish to expose him, that you put him in mind of his sin. Take hold of his feet; embrace him; be not ashamed, if you truly desire to cure him. Physicians, too, do things of this sort, oftentimes, when their patients are difficult; by embraces and entreaties they at length persuade them to take a salutary medicine.²⁸

But the Church's confidence in rational medicine transcended literary devices and words of approbation. It was the Orthodox Church which provoked the organization of the medical profession for the systematic care and healing of patients in the hospital setting. Churchmen not only spoke well of physicians; they employed them in a hitherto unknown way to implement the Church's philanthropic motives. The Byzantine hospital is the strongest evidence of a wholesome and healthy synergy between the Orthodox Christian Tradition and rational medicine.

In 1985 Timothy S. Miller published his book, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*,²⁹ which has illuminated, in a definitive way, the positive relationship between

²⁷*Concerning the Statues*, Homily 5, 19. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, 9, p. 378.

²⁸*Ibid.* Homily 3, 13, p. 360.

²⁹(Baltimore, 1985).

the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition and rational medicine as a discipline.

It might be possible to understand the title as a regional study which spoke of the establishment of hospitals within Byzantium, as one might speak of the establishment of hospitals in other areas and nations: a companion volume, so to speak, of a series of books on the history of hospitals in France, Germany, Italy, and England, for example. However, that is not the case. Miller shows, rather, that the very institution of the hospital itself was born and flourished in Byzantium.

Technically speaking, a hospital is not a place where sick people are gathered so that they may be comforted in their suffering. Such institutions existed for many centuries in both the East and the West. A hospital "is an institution which provides beds, meals, and constant nursing care for its patients while they undergo medical therapy at the hands of professional physicians. It was not until the eighteenth century that anything approaching that definition existed in the West in any significant way."³⁰ Miller contends that "with the exception of a seventh-century example in Visigoth Spain, none of the philanthropic institutions of Western Europe seem to have offered the sick access to professional physicians before the twelfth century." Even so, "researchers have emphasized that hospitals of the medieval West fell so short of modern notions of proper patient care that they cannot be considered true forefathers of twentieth-century medical centers."³¹

In contrast, Miller piles up evidence to show that the ancestors of the modern hospital are to be found in Byzantium, beginning as early as the fourth century. These places of healing were originally expressions of Christian philanthropy for the poor and for strangers, hence, their original name, *xenones*, meaning "places for strangers." It was for the

³⁰Ibid. p. 4.

³¹Ibid. pp. 5-6.

service of the sick in these institutions that the Church of the East Roman Empire engaged private physicians, organized them, and financed them, and thus gave birth to the hospital in history. Miller summarizes the results of the historical scholarship regarding the birth of the hospital as follows:

Thus, the Byzantine *xenones* represent not only the first public institutions to offer medical care to the sick, but also the mainstream of hospital development through the Middle Ages, from which both the Latin West and the Moslem East adopted their facilities for the ill. To trace the birth and development of centers for the sick in the Byzantine Empire is thus to write the first chapter in the history of the Hospital itself.³²

As striking as this affirmation is in support of the appreciation of the Byzantine East for rational medicine, it takes on its greatest force for the argument being developed in this article from the fact that it was the Church which establishes the *xenones* and the hospitals, i.e. the "*nosokomeia*," governed them, financed them, and provided staffing for them. It did this as an expression of its Christian calling to "love humanity," in imitation and embodiment of its calling to become like God, who was above all, *Philanthropos*. Thus, after mentioning the contribution of the Cappadocians and Chrysostom "who played significant roles in the early years of Christian hospitals," Miller expresses in general terms the intimate relation between the Orthodox Church and the development of the hospital.

As the Orthodox Church came to exalt the medical profession as the epitome of philanthropy, it, in turn, felt obliged to make this philanthropy available to all —

³²Ibid. p. 4. My emphasis.

especially the poor — by sponsoring hospitals. Since more Greek church leaders continued to esteem medicine as one of the best expressions of Christian love until the final days of the East Roman Empire, so, too, they did not falter in supporting *nosokomeia*. As late as the 1440s the monastery of John Prodromos in Petra still maintained a public hospital.³³

As indicated by the final sentence of this quotation, hospitals in Byzantium were frequently part of monastic establishments. The founding chapters of many monasteries included provisions and rules of governance for these hospitals for the general public (which were in addition to the infirmities devoted to the exclusive treatment of the monks). One of the most famous was the hospital in the twelfth-century Pantokrator Monastery whose *typikon* shows a highly professional organization, with administration in the hands of the monastics, the medical care and surgery handled by carefully graded staffs of physicians, and ranks of supportive staff drawn from the monastics. The hospital had specialized clinics and the necessary physical facilities to fulfill its tasks.³⁴

It is not the purpose of this chapter to describe in detail these healing institutions. Rather, since by and large it was the Orthodox Church which brought the hospital into existence, our purpose is to present this evidence as positive proof of the essential compatibility between Orthodox Christian faith and purposes, practice, endeavors and clinical exercise of rational medicine.

Modern Orthodoxy and Medicine

This compatibility between Orthodoxy and rational medicine remained in the Orthodox world even after the dissolution

³³Ibid. p. 61.

³⁴See Miller, Ibid. ch. 2; Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ., 1968), ch. 11; and Miller's article

of the Byzantine Empire, though not quite in the same way in Orthodox Russia. There, Tzar Peter the Great drew primarily on the developing science of medicine in the West to develop Russian institutions of medical science and healing. Nevertheless, it was clergymen who sent their sons and daughters to the new medical schools to become physicians in numbers highly disproportionate to their relative numbers in the population. This indirectly indicates a sense of compatibility between faith and rational medicine, even though part of the motive was certainly the desire to advance socially and economically.³⁵ Even more positive evidence for the compatibility of rational medicine and faith is the missionary efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church in the nineteenth century. An example is Makarios Gloukharev (1792-1847) and his excellent mission to the Altai people of central Asia. Among his methods was an effort to be a servant of the people he was seeking to convert to Christianity. He chose medicine and hygiene as vehicles for his service approach. He practiced a rudimentary therapeutic medicine and he introduced significant disciplines to the people which, in fact, were the practice of preventative medicine. In the area of cleanliness and hygiene, he led the way by entering their homes and doing the cleaning himself.³⁶ The point here, of course, is that the saintly missionary would not have used the means of rational medicine for his missionary work if he found it in itself unacceptable.

At this same time, within the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox were seriously limited in their abilities to continue the

in Scarborough, *Symposium*, pp. 53-64, for more information on the Pantokrator Hospital.

³⁵Franz Dorbeck, "Origin of Medicine in Russia," *Medical Life*, 30 (1923) 223-33; Nancy Mandelker Frieden, *Russian Physicians in an Era of Reform and Revolution (1856-1905)* (Princeton, NJ., 1981). See also Harakas, *The Eastern Orthodox Tradition*.

³⁶James J. Stamoolis, *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today* (Maryknoll, NY., 1986), pp. 29-30.

tradition of close and intimate relationship between the faith and rational medicine because of the structures of their second-class citizenship. Nevertheless, significant steps were taken to provide for medical care. It was Christians, by and large, who became physicians for both the Muslim overlord and the subject Christian peoples, since the Turks felt it was beneath their dignity to do so such "menial work." Young men usually went to the renowned medical schools in Italy for study and returned to influential practices within the Ottoman Empire. Medicine offered a promising career in the Ottoman Empire for the Orthodox Christians, which not only had material rewards, but also provided a significant measure of influence.³⁷

Among these there were some especially distinguished physicians known in Greek as *iatrophilosophoi*, who were distinguished from other physicians by their long-term interest in theology and their reverence and piety. A well-known example was Eustratios Argentes (1687-1757) who both practiced medicine and wrote theology on the island of Chios. He proudly identified himself in his books as an *iatrophilosophos*³⁸ This tradition continues to this day in Eastern Orthodoxy.

Many Orthodox Christian physicians in both Greece and the United States, for example, find no conflict in relating their profession as medical doctors with spiritual and religious interests, even on an academic level. A living example of such a person is Dr. John Papavassiliou, a practicing physician and member of the faculty of the Medical School of the University of Athens. A recent publication of his, *Modern Biology and Christian Faith*, is an example of this comfortable relationship between rational medicine and Orthodox

³⁷Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 213.

³⁸Timothy Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church Under Turkish Rule* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 45-47.

Christian belief.³⁹ A review of the major headings of his article, which was given originally as a lecture to post-graduate theological students, might illustrate this scientist's perspective.

After an introduction in which he holds that "the new developments of biology must be taken into consideration by religion, at least because of their biomedical implications and their importance for Christian sociology (i.e. social ethics) and morality,"⁴⁰ he begins with a purely scientific discussion on the "Microbial World." He follows this with scientific discussions on the "Levels of Organization in Microbial Life," "The Origins of Life," "Microbial Growth, Bacterial Genetics," and "Heredity, Senescence and Death." These are followed by a section on "Bioethics." Among the topics he briefly discusses are: human experimentation, contraception, abortion, sterilization, artificial insemination, fertilized ovum transplantation, amniocentesis, artificial organs, euthanasia, physician presence at tortures, involuntary artificial feeding, all of which are primarily from a technical perspective, with references to some Christian teachings. This is followed by a brief discussion of "The Bible, Science and Evolution" in which he takes a standard Orthodox stance between a mechanistic view and a literalist perspective on creation. The last and most theological section is titled "Life, Death and Resurrection."

Nor did the tradition of Christian hospitals die out during the Ottoman period. The Church and the medical profession cooperated to establish the first Christian hospital sixty-four years after the fall of Constantinople, that is, in 1517. Others were established in the Patriarchate of Alexandria and Jerusalem. Nearly all of these were associated with monasteries as was the traditional practice. Often, these hospitals were located in provincial locales, not only in major

³⁹*La Theologie dans l'Eglise et dans le Monde*, (Chambesy-Geneva, 1984), pp. 203-25.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* p. 203.

cities.⁴¹

What of contemporary attitudes? In 1985, I solicited the opinions of Greek Orthodox physicians regarding the relationship between medicine and religion among their Greek Orthodox patients through a questionnaire. This was part of a larger empirical study to be referred to below. The response of the small sample of physicians solicited was not adequate enough to provide a statistical base for comparison to the answers of clergy and laity of the Greek Orthodox Church in this country. This, in itself, might indicate many things, and any attempt to ascribe meaning to it would be foolhardy. Nevertheless, of those who responded there were some interesting statements on the issue of conflict, or lack of it, between the religious beliefs of their Greek Orthodox patients and the practices of rational medicine.

Several of the responding physicians clearly indicated that they saw no conflicts between religion and their medical practice with Greek Orthodox patients. One doctor stated it in so many words: "I cannot see any conflict between the Greek Orthodox religion and health and medicine." On a more positive note, another physician observed, "I have found that religion and medicine can work together to help a patient reach good mental and physical health." Together with a number of other physicians, he observed that "many patients with difficult medical problems do better than expected because of their faith." In a quite enthusiastic way, one physician extolled the power of faith in healing: "[I] enunciate to patients that faith is our survival kit; and that, truly, it 'moves mountains!' The positive attitude and faith are protective." This is less specific to Orthodox faith, than to religious faith in general, in the view of another doctor: "... the positive aspects of religious belief are most clearly seen in patients with severe medical problems. Strong faith,

⁴¹I. Alexiou, *et. al.*, *Τι πρόσφερε ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς 3, Κοινωνικὴ Μέριμνα στὴν Τουρκοκρατία* (Athens, 1980).

under those circumstances, can be of great help to the patient in distress. Such faith, by the way, is not dissimilar to what I have observed among other Christians . . . ”

However, the physicians noted with a measure of frequency that often it is not only Greek Orthodox faith or even religious faith that is at work in the attitudes of their patients. Often, they observe, “cultural values,” including socioeconomic, educational, and superstitious attitudes brought with immigrants, cause conflicts. They also indicated that conflicts are sometimes the result of national psychological attitudes, such as the view that “Greeks are more emotional than others.”

Some of the doctors reflected on the lack of conflict between religion and medicine in their patients and gave varying reasons for it, not based on the attitude of the Church toward medicine. A prominent reason given was the lack of religious knowledge on the part of many Greek Orthodox in reference to medical questions. One said, “I cannot remember even one objection to a medical recommendation based on religious grounds that was verbalized to me.”

Some conflicts were recognized, however. One blamed “illiterate and stupid and fanatic clergymen in Greece” for them, but this was unusual. On the other side, another commented that the clergyman was particularly helpful in dealing with a case regarding the continuation or cessation of life support procedures. The Church’s opposition to abortion was highlighted most frequently, with special reference to the issues associated with *Thalassemia* or *Cooley’s Anemia*, which is met in significant proportion among Greek Orthodox people. Other topics mentioned were discussions regarding decision making on the continuation of life support systems, permission for an autopsy and emphasis on forgiveness of sins, rather than seeking healing. But the general impression from the physicians’ responses was that conflicts between the Orthodox faith and the practice of rational medicine, in their experience, were minimal.

Since 1980, efforts have been made at one of the Orthodox institutions of higher education in the United States to relate the concerns of medicine, psychology, and religion. A notable accomplishment was a Symposium on Thalassemia, held at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, on March 30, 1985, which brought together physicians, psychologists, theologians, leaders of thalassemia related organizations, and social workers. Another Symposium was held in 1987 on the topic "Medicine, Psychology and Religion: New Directions; New Integrations," and another, in 1988, on the topic of "AIDS."

In 1985, plans began being formulated under the direction of Hellenic College Psychology faculty member John Chirban to establish an organization which would bring together physicians, psychologists and persons primarily concerned with Orthodox Christianity to deal with areas of common interest. "The Orthodox Christian Association of Medicine, Psychology and Religion" was organized at a national conference in January of 1986. Among its stated goals was to "work towards an understanding of the whole person, integrating the basic assumptions of medicine, psychology and religion and the Orthodox Christian faith."⁴² The "Founding Conference" on the theme of "Healing" was held September 5-7, 1986 at St. Basil's Academy, Garrison, NY, with the keynote address given by His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, and sessions held on interdisciplinary issues, genetic engineering, miracles, and the disease AIDS. Program participants came from Hellenic College, Loyola University, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, Harvard Medical School, St. Vladimir's Seminary, Tufts University School of Medicine, the University of Thessalonike School of Medicine, the New York Hellenic Medical Society, and the Methodist Hospital, Brooklyn. The very existence of these organized efforts seem to indicate the belief that there is no essential conflict between

⁴²*Constitution of the Orthodox Christian Association of Medicine, Psychology and Religion*. Article 2, c.

medicine, the helping professions and Orthodox Christian religious conviction.

About this same time, in 1985, questionnaires, one of which was mentioned above, were circulated among Greek Orthodox physicians, laity, priests, and bishops in order to obtain some empirically based illustrative material for this study. The material drawn from this questionnaire and used in this article cannot be considered statistically accurate for a number of reasons, but it does serve to illustrate some trends in thinking among contemporary Orthodox Christians on issues related to health and medicine.⁴³

For example, active laity and some of the clergy of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in this country were asked the following question: "On the basis of your experience with self, family, and parish, how often would you say that Orthodox Christians find themselves in religiously based conflict with modern medical procedure and practices?" The laity responded on this scale: never-12% rarely-33%; occasionally-39%; commonly-13%; and, very commonly-3%. For the laity of the Greek Orthodox Church, one could conclude that a very high percent do not find great conflict between their faith and medical practice.

The same can be said of the priests of the Archdiocese, with perhaps a slightly heavier emphasis on that conclusion:

⁴³The questionnaire was developed by me on the basis of previous work done in the Project Ten program. No claims to scientific accuracy are made regarding the conclusions reported herein. Both physicians and laity were selected as having better than average contact and commitment to church life, thus the questionnaires are deliberately not representative of the whole membership of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. One hundred questionnaires were sent to physicians, with an eighteen percent return. Two hundred questionnaires were sent to laity whose return was 42.5% percent. One-hundred-and-fifty questionnaires were sent to priests of the Archdiocese with a return of 43.3%. Thirteen bishops of the Church received questionnaires with a return of eight, or 61.5%. The figures themselves indicate a higher than expected return for random samplings. Thus, the information gleaned from the questionnaires is understood to be illustrative only, and not statistically accurate.

never-5%; rarely-38%; occasionally-50%; commonly-5% and, very commonly-2%. The bishops of the Church seemed to have a slightly stronger sense of conflict, with 86% of those responding holding that conflicts were "occasional," and 14% of the view that conflicts between religion and medicine were common. The conclusion seems quite coherent regardless of clerical or lay status: of all the Orthodox Christians respondents, approximately 85% felt that conflict was never, rarely, or only occasionally experienced.

When priests were asked which was the most common issue of conflict, six percent felt there were none at all, and almost half (46%) gave answers which ranged over fifteen different topics. Two items appeared frequently enough to indicate some concern: abortion (28%) and issues connected with decisions regarding life support systems and the terminally ill (20%). One third of the bishops indicated abortion as a chief issue of conflict, while the remaining two thirds of the responses were spread over eight other topics. Clearly, only abortion is perceived as a major source of conflict, with issues regarding the terminally ill, as a secondary concern. This result seems to support the fundamental conclusion that Orthodox clergy and laity do not see too much conflict between their faith tradition and rational medicine, an expected conclusion given the tradition described in this chapter.

Conclusion

Athens University Theology Professor Megas Farantos, in a study on the relationship of the physical sciences and theology, traced the history of the conflict of the two over the past several centuries. In coming to his theological assessment, however, he holds that in principle science and theology are not in fundamental conflict, and in fact have need of each other.

Between science and theology, there is no essential conflict: science examines the particular and gives great

importance to the objective. Theology, with its starting point and center in God, as the reality and power which determines all things, seeks to bring humanity as a whole into relationship with the world as a whole, and into contact with its many facets. For only that person who elevates the particular reality and the particular purposes of life into a connection to the whole and ultimate purpose of his or her life and that of the whole world understands the world correctly and lives in full consciousness . . .

Science and theology appear at first to conflict with each other and to mutually refute each other. But, at their heart, they in fact mutually complement and fulfill each other. Science gives to theology the concrete and the objective, while theology gives to science an inclusive perspective of the reality of the cosmos, especially in its subjective resonances. So here, also, on the topic of the relations between theology and science, the principle of "Complementarity" (Komplementaritat) is operative. For this reason, there is need for mutual completion, not only for theology but also for science.⁴⁴

Certainly, other Orthodox theologians may state the rationale differently, but their conclusions will be the same. In the case of scientific and rational medicine from the Orthodox Christian perspective, it is clear that its doctrine, history, and current practice affirm a comprehensive and complementary relationship.

⁴⁴"God in the Sphere of the Natural Sciences Today,' *Ἀντίδωρον Πνευματικόν: Τιμητικὸς Τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι ἐπιστημονικῆς δράσεως καὶ τῇ 40ετηρίδι καθηγεσίας καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δράσεως Γερασίμου Ι. Κονιδάρη* (Athens, 1981), pp. 516-17.

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*Recollections of Mt. Athos.*¹ By Archimandrite Cherubim. Introduction by Bishop Maximos. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1987. Pp. 202. Paper \$10.00.

This book is a translation of Archimandrite Cherubim's Greek text, *Anamneseis tou Agiou Orous*, written shortly before the author's death in 1979. I would like first, then, to make a few comments about the translation. In the translator's preface (pp. 3-7), we find a clear statement about the guidelines which the translator followed. They are excellent; they are, indeed, to be emulated. Except for a few minor points (a tendency to split infinitives and a few problems in subject-verb agreement), the translation is good and follows these guidelines. The glossary, which offers definitions of Greek words that have been left untranslated or which, in their English counterparts, are unclear, is excellent. I would only point out two technical problems: in several cases more colloquial Greek is employed (e.g. *rasso* for *rasson*) — something which I believe we should avoid in ecclesiastical usage; and at least once an improper word is used (*skoufo* for *skoufos*) [see p. 202]. With regard to the definitions themselves — and these of nomenclature very difficult to render —, it should be noted that the *Lite* (p. 201) is in fact an informal term for what the translator calls the "inner narthex," and it is not "separated from the nave by a second iconostation," but by a partition taking various forms and containing the "Royal Doors." The *iconostation* (more properly, *templon*) contains the "Beautiful Gates" and serves quite a different function.

Bishop Maximos' introduction to the book is also noteworthy. His summary of the hesychastic movement, while quite accurate, is perhaps a bit too lightly put forth. But certainly this is the result of the limitations imposed on him by the scope of an introduction. In general, the introduction is a very erudite and useful historical summary of the monastic estate and the monasticism of Mt. Athos. His Grace's reference to contemporary monastic institutions is a bit dated

and certainly comprises not only good examples of traditional Orthodox monasticism, but some less than traditional institutions. It unfortunately fails to make note of the several Old Calendarist monastic institutions in this country, an important point since monasticism in Greece is for the greater part found in the Old Calendar movement and since the Holy Mountain follows the Old Calendar.

Of the text? I will let the reader drink from these quaint, beautiful, moving recollections. We learn in this book of true monks, of those whose lives are "a light which, after their death, shines even more" (p. 41) — of "... ascetics, whose lives were marked by consequential living . . . true monks, true ascetics" (p. 124). This book reminds one of the writings of Constantine Cavarinos, who has so poetically and beautifully captured the spirit of the Holy Mountain in several similar books of recollections. One tastes in these pages the Athonite life as it was, as it is not so purely today, and as it might be if we can keep the icon of the Garden of the Panagia portrayed by Father Cherubim clean and bright through prayer and dedication to the best principles represented by the Athonite monastic tradition.

This book is handsome and beautifully done. The cover, a sketch by my own subdeacon, Chrestos Spontylides, captures beautifully the nostalgia evoked by this volume for the simplicity and purity of the spiritual life that reaches us in stories from those who have known Athos as a mother and spiritual father. I would recommend this book to anyone who loves the deep spirituality of our Orthodox faith and the particularly rich spiritual lives of the best Athos has offered us over many years.

Bishop Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Studies

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Saint Makarios of Egypt and John Wesley: Variations on the Theme of Sanctification

DAVID C. FORD

AS OTHERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN WHAT ERNST BENZ HAS called the "Protestant Thebaid,"¹ John Wesley was greatly influenced by the Fifty Spiritual Homilies attributed to Saint Makarios the Great of Egypt² (c. 300-90 A.D.), one of the most revered of the desert fathers of the early church. In 1735 Wesley read the homilies on his way to colonial Georgia in America, his own "desert," and he included twenty-two of

¹Ernst Benz, in *Die Protestantische Thebais* (Mainz, 1963), describes the influence of Makarios, and the desert fathers in general, upon such Protestant figures as Gottfried Arnold, Petrus Poiret, Johann Pritius, Balthasar Kopken, Johann Heinrich Reitz, Gerhard Tersteegen, Justinian von Welz, Johannes Kelpius, and Conrad Beissel (founder of the Protestant monastic community at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, which flourished in the mid-eighteenth century). See also Ernst Benz, "La littérature du Désert chez les Evangéliques allemands et les Pietistes de Pennsylvanie," *Irenikon* 51 (1978) 338-57.

²It is generally assumed that Saint Makarios the Great did not write these homilies himself, but that they were compiled by one or more disciples based on actual sermons preached by Makarios, or at least on material that is representative of Makarios' thought (see A. A. Stephenson, "Macarius the Egyptian," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), 9, pp. 3-4; and Vincent Desprez and Mariette Canévet, "Pseudo-Macaire (Syméon)," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris, 1980), 10, pp. 20-43. Since Wesley never doubted actual Makarian authorship of the Homilies, the author will be referred to as "Makarios" in this article.

them in the first volume of his *Christian Library*.³ In the preface therein, he states of Makarios:

There is visibly to be distinguished in our author, a rich, sublime, and noble vein of piety, but that perfectly serious, sober, and unaffected; natural and lively, but sedate and deep withal. Whatever he insists upon is essential, is durable, is necessary. What he continually labours to cultivate in himself and others is, the real life of God in the heart and soul, that kingdom of God which consists in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.⁴

The importance of this influence of Makarios on Wesley (and other writings from the Early church, especially the Eastern fathers),⁵ seems more significant than is often recognized. In the face of the rather grim determinism of the Calvinistically-oriented Protestant scholasticism of his day (particularly seen in the ideas of a limited atonement, a rigid

³Albert Outler, in *John Wesley* (New York, 1964; hereafter, Outler), writes:

in the writings of what he thought was "Makarios the Egyptian," he [Wesley] was actually in touch with Gregory of Nyssa, the greatest of all the Eastern Christian teachers of the quest for perfection. Thus, in his early days, he drank deep of this Byzantine tradition of spirituality at its source and assimilated its conception of devotion as the *way* and perfection as the *goal* of the Christian life (p. 9, note 26, his emphasis; cf. p. 31).

See also Benz, *Die Protestantische Thebais*, pp. 117-21, and Gordon S. Wakefield, "La littérature du Désert chez John Wesley," *Irenikon* 51 (1978) 155-70.

⁴John Wesley, *A Christian Library* (London, 1819), 1, p. 71.

⁵Wesley referred to "the Fathers, . . . chiefly those who wrote before the Council of Nice," as being "the most authentic commentators on Scripture, as being both the nearest the fountain, and eminently endued with that Spirit by whom all Scripture was given." He then highly lauds "Saint Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, Austin [i.e., Augustine]; and, above all, the man of a broken heart, Ephraim Syrus," Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of John Wesley* (Peabody, MA, 1984), 10, p. 484; hereafter, *Works*. See also his introductions to the apostolic fathers in his *A Christian Library*, vol. 1.

predestinarianism, a total depravity which precluded a Christian ever overcoming sin in this life, and an emphasis on justification by faith alone which seemed to deny the necessity of good works, thus leading to antinomianism), Wesley found in these writings a clear call to real, pure holiness of Christian living, attainable in this life through active cooperation with God's grace, and available to all. Wesley and Makarios both refer to this highest ideal of the Christian life, involving complete freedom from the power of sin, and total saturation with love for God and all creation, as "perfection" (τελείωσις). This emphasis upon practical piety, disseminated through the proliferation of Methodism, significantly enriched the theology and praxis of much of Protestantism in Europe and America. Methodism proved to be the spawning ground for the holiness movement in America, led by Phoebe Palmer,⁶ W. E. Boardman,⁷ and many others in the mid-nineteenth century, from which sprang the myriad of pente-

⁶Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874) had tremendous success as a travelling evangelist in the United States, Canada, and England, and as editor of the monthly magazine, "Guide to Holiness." In many ways she can be considered the key link between Wesley, especially as interpreted by John Fletcher and Adam Clarke, and the Pentecostal Movement which began in the 1890s in America. She attributed her doctrine of "the Baptism of the Holy Spirit" fully to Wesley:

A recognition of the full baptism of the Holy Ghost as a grace to be experienced and enjoyed in the present life, was *the distinguishing doctrine of Methodism*. And who can doubt but it was this specialty that again brought out a host of Spirit-baptized laborers, as in the apostolic days? And the satisfaction with which this apostolic man [i.e., Wesley] recognized and encouraged the use of this endowment of power is everywhere observable throughout his writings. . . . *he had himself diligently sought for and obtained the baptism of the Holy Ghost*. Through the fervor of his ministrations, the Pentecostal flame began to diffuse, and as men and women of the laity caught the flame, they also began to speak, as the Spirit gave utterance, as in apostolic days. *Promise of the Father* (Boston, 1859), pp. 55 and 57, my emphasis; cf. also p. 53.

⁷W. E. Boardman, an American Presbyterian coming under Methodist influence, published in 1859 the very popular and influential *The Higher Christian Life*, which promoted the possibility of a life here and now of perfect holiness.

costal and other holiness-related groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

While Wesley made his own⁸ much of the theology of the fifty homilies,⁹ it is the thesis of this article that in certain somewhat subtle yet vitally significant areas, Wesley departed from the spirit and the specific teachings of Makarios. Further, it was *these very instances of departure* which later followers of Wesley exaggerated to extremes, thus leading in large degree to the development of Pentecostalism. These areas include: 1) Wesley's distinct separation of "sanctification" from "justification," and the tendency to regard both as specific, identifiable experiences to be sought for and attained; 2) his emphasis upon the instantaneous in the acquisition of the state of complete sanctification/holiness/perfection/"full and high salvation;" 3) his emphasis upon the role of one's own faith in gaining this experience or state; 4) his stress upon the "witness of the Spirit" as assurance that one had indeed attained this state; 5) his

⁸Benz, pp. 121-24, talks of how Wesley's is a quite literal translation ("eine wortwörtliche Übersetzung," p. 121) of the Fifty Homilies, and of how Wesley's idea of Christian perfection is virtually identical to that of Makarios, not just in concept but in description ("die Auffassung Wesleys von der Vollkommenheit des Christen . . . durch den Wortlaut der Formulierungen des Makarios bestimmt ist," p. 124 — "Wesley's conception of Christian perfection was determined by the very wording of Makarios' phraseology").

⁹Besides the areas already mentioned, Wesley seems to be in close agreement with Makarios in such concepts as 1) the Christian life as a continuing conscious experience of the presence of God; 2) the dynamism of Christian growth in perfection, even in heaven; 3) the constant need to be striving against all sin and for virtues, especially humility, repentance, good works, detachment (apatheia), and abandonment of self-will to God; 4) the beneficial role of suffering in this process; 5) Christian perfection as the recovery of the image of God in man; 6) the limitations on this "perfection" while in this life due to our bodily existence in a fallen world, subject to the continuing influence of sin and the demons; 7) the description, therefore, of the Christian life as one of continual watchfulness and spiritual warfare; 8) the possibility of falling away from true holiness; and 9) the ever-present danger of spiritual delusion, especially through pride and presumption.

encouragement of people to speak of their own sanctification to others; and, 6) his tendency to describe the goal of the Christian life as the attainment of this state of perfection, defined by specific concepts, rather than simply the seeking of God himself, and of participation in his life, which cannot be categorized.

Justification Separated from Sanctification

Wesley's separation of the experience of justification (forgiveness of sins) from that of sanctification (total freedom from the power of sin; not consciously committing any known sins) is well-known. In Sermon 107, "On God's Vineyard," he talks of "the wide difference between them," saying that justification (which is also the moment of one's "new birth," or being "born again") is only "the threshold of sanctification, the first entrance upon it."¹⁰ Each is considered to occur at separate identifiable times: "We assert that this faith [for justification] is usually given in a moment;"¹¹ and, "after justification, he has found a second change wrought in a moment."¹² This idea of a "second change" is repeated in Wesley: "Let me gain that second rest;" and, "Unfold the hidden mystery,/The second gift impart."¹³ Water baptism is occasionally discussed by Wesley,¹⁴ but

¹⁰*Works*, 6, pp. 204-05.

¹¹"An Ernest Appeal," *Works*, 8, p. 24; see also p. 25.

¹²Preface to "An Extract from the Journal of Elizabeth Harper," *Works*, 14, pp. 262-63.

¹³"A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," 11, p. 392 and p. 393.

¹⁴For instance, in the "Treatise on Baptism" 10, pp. 188-201, he talks of water baptism as "the initiatory sacrament, which enters us into covenant with God" (p. 188), which wash[es] away the guilt of original sin" (p. 190). Yet in "A Farther Appeal," when he sketches out his "ordo salutis" (8, pp. 46-47), baptism is not an integral part of the scheme. He mentions it almost as an afterthought, as "the outward sign of this invisible grace" (p. 48), and observes "what trifling is this!" (p. 48) to dispute whether one is born again at baptism or at the moment of penitential faith. He concludes forcefully that what is necessary is "an entire change of heart," regardless of whether one is baptized or not. In "The New Birth" sermon, Wesley insists that "baptism is not the new birth"

practically speaking it is not considered the moment of justification or the beginning of the Christian life; that beginning is only marked by "the moment a penitent sinner believes this" — "that Christ died for my sins."¹⁵ And he adds, "The first sowing of this seed I cannot conceive to be other than instantaneous."¹⁶

For Makarios, in contrast, justification (forgiveness of sins) and sanctification (total freedom from the power of sin) are not separate, identifiable experiences, but are interpenetrating terms applicable to the entire Christian life. The new birth is described as *life*: "life is the birth from above of God."¹⁷ It is also referred to as receiving Christ's image,

(6, p. 73), except in the case of infants. But he makes no distinction between adults who were baptized as infants, and adults who were not; both equally need to "be born again" by repentance and faith. He does not speak of the saving power of God through the Spirit as being latent in the adult who was baptized as a child, as Makarios would.

¹⁵"A Farther Appeal," 8, p. 48.

¹⁶Ibid. Concerning the subsequent influence of this sharp distinction between justification and sanctification, Outler writes, "The Methodists in America, especially in the nineteenth century, contributed to a *very considerable confusion* by interpreting 'perfection' in terms of 'the second blessing' or 'entire sanctification as a state of grace distinct from justification, attainable instantaneously by faith' " (p. 31, quoting J. L. Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* [New York, 1956]; my emphasis). Wakefield says, "entre les mains de prédicateurs évangélistes moins scrupuleux, cela mène à tout l'outrage de 'la seconde bénédiction' " (p. 170 — "in the hands of less scrupulous evangelists, this leads to all the excesses of 'the second blessing.' ").

However, it appears that such spiritual descendants of Wesley were only emphasizing what Wesley himself said in this regard.

¹⁷A.J. Mason, ed., *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian* (London, 1921), Homily 33, p. 224 [hereafter, simply homily number and page number will be given]. This edition, now out of print, was republished in 1974 by Eastern Orthodox Books, Willits, California. A more colloquial English translation, by George Maloney, appeared in 1978 (Denver, NJ, 1978) with the title, *Intoxicated with God*, but this is also now out of print.

Wesley, though he knew Greek, may well have had a copy of a 1721 English translation of the Homilies, published in London by W. Taylor and W. and J. Innys, with this intriguing title page: "Primitive Morality, or, The Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian. Full

which takes time: "We must therefore gaze upon Him, believing and loving Him, throwing all else away, and attending to Him, in order that He may paint His own heavenly image and send it into our souls, and thus, wearing Christ, we may receive eternal life."¹⁸ A monk is addressed as "you, a monk, who have come to Christ, and desire to be a son of God, and to be born from on high of the Spirit."¹⁹ Becoming sons of God, and becoming sanctified, are in a sense the same process of growing closer to God, and being more filled with His life, a process which entails, through God's grace, constant development in prayer, virtue, and good deeds. Makarios challenges those who think they are justified to examine themselves:

For every one of those who obey the word of truth ought to prove and examine himself, and indeed to let himself be examined and proved by spiritual men, how far he has believed and given himself to God, whether really and truly according to His word, or in fancied justification and faith.²⁰

This whole process, for Makarios (and for all of Christianity until the Reformation), begins with water baptism.²¹ Makarios argues against those who think that baptism immediately frees people from any further influence of sin, asking, "Or do we find that many sins are committed after baptism, and that many live in sin? So even after baptism the

of very profitable instructions concerning that perfection, which is expected from Christians, and which it is their duty to endeavour after. By a presbyter of the Church of England" [probably Thomas Haywood].

The original Greek of the fifty homilies, along with a Latin translation, appear in PG 314.449-822.

¹⁸30.4, p. 225.

¹⁹48.6, p. 303.

²⁰48.2, p. 301.

²¹Wesley acknowledged with approval the universal practice of infant baptism in the early Church — "Treatise on Baptism" (10, pp. 197-98).

thief [the devil] is free to enter.”²² From this initial point of baptism, when God’s life enters the soul, the new birth *begins*; henceforward, each Christian is called to grow in that grace, to be continually re-dedicating himself to God, constantly repenting of sins and receiving forgiveness, and continually being cleansed from actual sins and being freed from the power of sin in general. For Makarios and the tradition of the Church, there are certainly particular moments of intense experience with God (it is hoped there would be many such moments) after baptism in this ongoing process of growth. But none of these moments can ever be singled out as *the moment* of justification or of sanctification.

Instantaneous Sanctification?

Wesley speaks about the time between justification and sanctification, in which one gradually grows closer to God, grows in love for God and one’s fellow-man, and is increasingly freed from the power of sin — “the successive conquests of grace, and the gradual process of the work of God in the soul.”²³ He emphasizes the *necessity* of seeking sanctification “in vigorous, universal obedience, in a zealous keeping of all the commandments, in watchfulness and painfulness, in denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily; as well as in earnest prayer and fasting.”²⁴ When speaking in this vein, Wesley is absolutely in accord with Makarios; the difference occurs when Wesley then speculates on *when* and *how* this process culminates in a specific, instantaneous moment. The logic of his scheme demands such a moment:

Q. Is this death to sin, and renewal in love, gradual or instantaneous?

A. A man may be dying for some time; yet he does not,

²²15.14, p. 112.

²³Preface to “Hymns and Sacred Poems” [1740], 14, p. 323; see also Outler, *John Wesley*, p. 31.

²⁴“Plain Account,” 16, p. 402.

properly speaking, die, till the instant the soul is separated from the body; and in that instant he lives the life of eternity. In like manner he may be dying to sin for some time; yet he is not dead to sin, till sin is separated from his soul; and in that instant he lives the full life of love.²⁵

So, while Wesley emphasizes "a gradual work, both preceding and following that instant,"²⁶ his final conclusion is that "this perfection is always wrought in the soul by a single act of faith; consequently, in an instant."²⁷ And, while Wesley believes "this instant generally is the instant of death," he allows that "it may be ten, twenty or forty years before." Furthermore, he believes the instant of perfection "is usually many years after justification; but that it may be within five years or five months after it, I know no conclusive argument to the contrary."²⁸

These conclusions of Wesley's, it appears, were significantly shaped by his observations and interviews while visiting Herrnhut and other communities of Christian "enthusiasts" in Moravia in the summer of 1738. In a letter to his brother Samuel, he refers to this trip:

For the πληροφορία πίστεως — the seal of the Spirit, the love of God shed abroad in my heart, and producing joy in the Holy Ghost, 'joy which no man taketh away, joy unspeakable and full of glory;' this witness of the Spirit I have not, but I patiently wait for it. I know many who have already received it; *more than one or two in the very hour we were praying for it.* And having seen and spoken with a cloud of witnesses abroad as well as in my own country, I cannot doubt but that believers who wait and pray for *it* will find these scriptures fulfilled in

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid. p. 446.

²⁷Ibid. cf. pp. 382-83 and 393.

²⁸Ibid.

themselves [my emphasis].²⁹

Makarios, on the other hand, does not speculate about a particular instant when perfect sanctification is attained. Perhaps this is partly because, as he says, "A perfect Christian man, one completely free, I have not yet seen"³⁰ (though this goal is always held to be attainable³¹; whereas Wesley knows of "many instances" when "sin is destroyed," "the usual work of many years [done] in a moment."³² Makarios repeatedly teaches that "it is only little by little that a man grows and comes to a perfect man,"³³ and that in this life perfect freedom from sin is attained by *very few*. This is because sin is so deeply entrenched in each human soul — both our actual sins, and the tendency to sin which lodged within human nature at Adam's fall:

When therefore the influence of divine grace has overshadowed the soul according to the measure of each man's faith, and he receives help from on high, still grace has overshadowed him only in part. Let not a man imagine that his whole soul has been enlightened. There is still a large range of wickedness within, and the man has need of much labour and pain, corresponding to the grace given him.³⁴

He states unequivocally that a long spiritual effort is necessary:

For a soul to reach these measures, however, does not come all at once, or without trial. Through many labours,

²⁹"Letters to His Brother Samuel," 22 [Oct. 30, 1738], *Works*, vol. 12, p. 34.

³⁰Homily 13.5, p. 67.

³¹18.11, p. 156.

³²"Plain Account," 11, p. 423.

³³Homily 15.41, p. 126; cf. 15.7, p. 109, and 40.8, p. 264.

³⁴41.2, p. 265; cf. 15.48, p. 130, and 3.5-6, pp. 18-19.

and struggles, and a long time, and earnestness, with trial and manifold temptations, it gains the spiritual increase and advance, even to the perfect measure of freedom from passion.³⁵

There is also the dynamism involved of a person moving in and out of perfection: "There are twelve steps, we might say, which a man has to pass before he reaches perfection. For a season that measure has been attained, and perfection entered upon; and then grace gives in, and he comes down by one step, and stands on the eleventh." This is so he will not become so "intoxicated" with God as to render him incapable of helping the brethren!³⁶ In addition, there is the ever-present spiritual warfare which continues after one enters perfection, and to which the perfected one is constantly liable to succumb, at least partially and temporarily: "A man bound over to the Holy Spirit, and inebriated with heavenly things, has power to turn to evil [since one's free will is never overridden]."³⁷ The greatest danger is spiritual pride, resulting from one's lofty spiritual experiences: "Even a pure nature is liable to be exalted above measure."³⁸ Yet still, "It is God's desire to bring the [fallen] man back to life."³⁹

By Faith Alone?

We have already quoted Wesley as saying that "this perfection is always wrought in the soul by a simple act of faith;

³⁵10.5, p. 78.

³⁶8.4, pp. 66-67.

³⁷15.36, pp. 123-24; cf. 15.18, pp. 113-14.

³⁸7.4, p. 63; cf. 15.27 and 47, pp. 119 and 130.

³⁹15.17, p. 113. Wesley was also keenly aware of the dangers of spiritual delusion and the possibility of someone having perfection to then fall from it (see especially "Cautions to the Greatest Professors," Outler, pp. 299-305; and "Extract of a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law," where he states that even the perfected soul "is liable to 10,000 delusions" [9, p. 504]). Yet Wesley does not draw out his logic: if a perfected Christian falls into sin and then comes back into perfection, has he not had two instantaneous moments of sanctification?

consequently, in an instant.” In a sermon which leading American Methodist historian Albert Outler has described as pre-eminently characteristic of Wesleyan theology, Wesley pointedly declares:

Exactly as we are justified by faith, so we are sanctified by faith. Faith is the condition, and *the only condition* of sanctification, exactly as it is of justification. It is the condition: none is sanctified but he that believes; without faith no man is sanctified. And it is *the only condition*: this *alone* is sufficient for sanctification [my emphasis].⁴⁰

With such an emphasis upon perfection coming “by a simple act of faith,” of faith being its only condition, and as its being “receivable by mere faith, and as hindered only by unbelief,”⁴¹ it seems to be virtually inevitable that the role of one’s faith becomes paramount, and the other factors (prayer, good works, spiritual warfare, development of virtues, overcoming trials and temptations) all become secondary. The long time span between justification and sanctification becomes unnecessary; if I can simply believe that God will freely sanctify me at any moment, why wait? Why not believe it now, and claim it by faith? As Wesley asks rhetorically, “Can anything be more clear, than . . . that [the] instant [of attaining ‘full and high salvation’] may be now? that we need not stay another moment? that ‘now,’ the very ‘now,’ is the accepted time?”⁴² He exhorts, “O pray for it [perfection] without ceasing! It is the one thing you want. Come with boldness to the throne of grace; and be assured

⁴⁰“The Scripture Way of Salvation,” Outler, p. 278. Outler says of this sermon, “If the Wesleyan theology had to be judged by a single essay, this one would do as well as any and better than most” (Outler, p. 271).

⁴¹“Plain Account,” 11, p. 382.

⁴²“Plain Account,” 11, pp. 382-83; cf. p. 402.

that when you ask this of God, you shall have the petition you ask of Him."⁴³

This kind of attitude ties in with Wesley's definition of 'faith'; no longer simply 'trusting in God,' but "an assurance of the love of God in our souls, of his being now reconciled to us, and having forgiven all our sins."⁴⁴ If I can believe, in this moment, that Christ forgives me my sins (justification), why can I not, in this moment, believe that Christ cleanses me from all power of sin (sanctification)? True, Wesley says such faith "is the free gift of God"⁴⁵; but why cannot we pray for this gift now, and believe that we receive it now? This is what it would seem that Wesley is encouraging believers to do. Besides, Wesley points to scriptural promises, such as Psalm 130.8 ("He shall redeem Israel from all his sins"), as proof that we can expect God to fully sanctify us now.⁴⁶ For another example, in "A Farther Appeal," Wesley writes,

Now, if by salvation we mean a present salvation from sin, we cannot say, holiness is the condition of it; for it is the thing itself. Salvation, in this sense, and holiness, are synonymous terms. We must therefore say, 'We are saved by faith.' Faith is the sole condition of this salvation.⁴⁷

By this logic, since salvation = holiness, we must conclude that for Wesley faith is the sole condition of holiness, i.e., of perfection.

⁴³"An Earnest Appeal," 7, p. 22.

⁴⁴Ibid. p. 23; cf. "Extract of a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law," where he states, "Faith is . . . a divine evidence and conviction . . . that the Son of God hath loved me and given himself for me" (9, p. 496); cf. also "A Farther Appeal," 8, p. 48.

⁴⁵"An Earnest Appeal," 8, p. 6.

⁴⁶"Plain Account," 11, pp. 388-89.

⁴⁷"A Farther Appeal," Part 1, 8, p. 47.

Makarios, however, does not attribute so much power to our faith; it is God alone who chooses when and how to answer our prayers. Faith is not the conviction that God has already cleansed me from sin, but the trusting belief that he is doing so, in his own time and manner, as I keep desiring him:

The soul that really loves God and Christ . . . All day long, hungering and thirsting through *faith and love*, in persevering prayer . . . continues to be insatiable for the mysteries of grace, and for the accomplishment of every virtue. It is smitten with passionate love of the Heavenly Spirit, continually stirring up within itself through grace an ardent aspiration for the heavenly Bridegroom, desiring to be perfectly admitted to the ineffable fellowship with Him in sanctification of the Spirit. The face of the soul is unveiled, and it gazes upon the heavenly Bridegroom face to face in a spiritual light that cannot be described, mingling with Him in all fulness of assurance [*plerophoria*], being conformed to His death, ever looking with great desire to die for Christ, and *trusting with assurance* to receive by the Spirit a perfect deliverance from sin and from the darkness of the passions [my emphasis].⁴⁸

Faith involves trusting God in everything, and implies having no anxiety for earthly things,⁴⁹ a detachment from all the things of this world, and a total desire for eternal things, for God himself.⁵⁰ Makarios is also careful to stress the importance of other factors besides faith in our attainment of holiness, which do not occur "by mere faith alone":

The man who desires to come to the Lord, and to be found worthy of eternal life, and to become the dwelling-place

⁴⁸Homily 10.4, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁹48.3, p. 301.

⁵⁰24.2, pp. 174-75.

of Christ, and to be filled with the Holy Ghost, that he may be able to produce the fruits of the Spirit, and perform the commandments of Christ purely and faultlessly, ought to begin by first believing the Lord steadfastly, and giving himself wholly to the words of His commandments, and renouncing the world altogether, that his whole mind may be occupied about nothing secular. And he should persevere continually in prayer, continually waiting in expectant faith for the visitation and succour of the Lord, keeping the aim of his mind always fixed upon this. Then he should force himself to every good work and to all the commandments of the Lord, because of the sin that is present with him. . . . *But if a man forces himself only to prayer, until he shall receive a gift of it from God, but does not in like manner force and compel and accustom himself to these other things, he cannot in truth perform them purely and faultlessly.* He should prepare himself in this way to that which is good to the best of his power; for sometimes the divine grace comes to him while asking and praying. For God is good and kind, and to those who ask Him He gives what they ask. But if a man has not the things of which we have spoken, and has not accustomed or adapted himself to them beforehand, even if he receives grace, he will lose it, and falls by pride, or at least makes no progress or increase in the grace that came to him, since he does not give himself to the commandments of the Lord with a will [my emphasis].⁵¹

Yet there is no cause for self-righteousness, because even though we cooperate with God through our efforts, we know that all spiritual benefit is always seen as an undeserved gift from God.⁵²

⁵¹19.1 and 6, pp. 157 and 160-61.

⁵²19.7-8, pp. 161-62.

The "Witness of the Spirit"

Wesley's definition of 'faith' as 'evidence,' 'conviction,' and 'assurance' of what God *has done* for someone personally, makes it almost identical with "the witness (or 'testimony') of the Spirit," which he describes as the divinely given certitude that one, in absolute verity, has been either justified or fully sanctified: "None therefore ought to believe that the work is done, till there is added the testimony of the Spirit, witnessing his entire sanctification, as clearly as his justification."⁵³ True, Wesley qualifies his description of the "witness of the Spirit," saying:

Indeed, the witness of sanctification is not always clear at first; (as neither is that of justification;) neither is it afterwards always the same, but, like that of justification, sometimes stronger and sometimes fainter. Yea, and sometimes it is withdrawn. Yet, in general, the latter testimony of the Spirit is both as clear and as steady as the former.⁵⁴

Yet Wesley has such confidence in the reliability of this feeling (at least twice he called "inward feeling" "the most infallible of proofs" — in his *Journal*⁵⁵ and in a letter,⁵⁶ both in 1738) that he can say:

If a man be deeply and fully convinced, after justification, of inbred sin; if he then experience a gradual mortification

⁵³Wesley often uses the Greek word πληροφορία (= "full reality," "assurance," "conviction" — Lampe, G. W. H., ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* [Oxford, 1961], p. 1093) to refer to "this witness of the Spirit." This term was undoubtedly taken by Wesley from Makarios, for whom it is a favorite word (e.g., 4.27, p. 37; 15.20, pp. 115-16; 20.1, p. 163; 30.4, pp. 225, etc.). But for Makarios it does not mean "a witness of the Spirit" that God *has done* something for someone, but rather a full assurance and confidence that God *is* and *will be* accomplishing spiritual growth in one's life.

⁵⁴"Plain Account," 11, p. 420.

⁵⁵*Works*, 1, p. 72.

⁵⁶*Works*, 12, p. 33.

of sin, and afterwards an entire renewal in the image of God; if to this change, immensely greater than that wrought when he was justified, he added a clear, direct witness of the renewal; I judge it as impossible this man should be deceived therein, as that God should lie.⁵⁷

Wesley does admit that people may be deceived in this matter (if all the above requirements are not met), and that if they are then treated harshly, "it may destroy their souls. This is nothing impossible, no, nor improbable. It may so enrage or so discourage them, that they will sink and rise no more."⁵⁸ But if the one deceived is treated compassionately, "It is a harmless mistake, while he feels nothing but love in his heart. It is a mistake which generally argues great grace, an high degree both of holiness and happiness"⁵⁹; and, "as long as he feels nothing but love animating all his thoughts, and words, and actions, he is in no danger."⁶⁰

Makarios, it seems, takes a safer, more realistic view of such an alleged "witness of the Spirit" that one is totally sanctified, totally free from all sin. Knowing well the tenacity and pervasiveness of sin in the human soul, and the extreme subtlety of the devil, Makarios never encourages people to expect such a "witness of the Spirit." Rather, "Though divers gifts of the Spirit, or revelations and heavenly mysteries, should be vouchsafed to it [the soul], it [should] feel in itself to have acquired nothing at all, by reason of its unlimited and insatiable love to the Lord."⁶¹ To assert the attainment of any fulness of the Spirit would imply satiety, which is impossible if indeed spiritual growth is endless, due to our "insatiable love" for the Lord.⁶² Again, Makarios states:

⁵⁷"Plain Account," 11, p. 402.

⁵⁸Ibid. p. 404.

⁵⁹Ibid. p. 405.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Homily 10.4, pp. 77-78; cf. 10.1-3, pp. 76-77.

⁶²cf. 15.37-38, pp. 124-25.

He who is rich in the grace of God ought to be very humble and contrite of heart, and *to consider himself as poor and having nothing*. None of it is his own. Another gave it, and takes it away when He pleases. He who humbles himself thus before God and men *is able to keep* the grace that was given to him, as the Lord says, 'He that humbleth himself shall be exalted.' Elect though he be of God, let him be reprobate to himself; and being really faithful, let him consider himself unworthy. Such souls are well pleasing to God, and are quickened in Christ [my emphasis].⁶³

These words are in striking contrast to Wesley's criticism of Bishop Taylor's words to similar effect which he wrote in a letter to his mother in 1725:

In reference to humility, the Bishop says, 'We must be sure, in some sense or other, to think ourselves the worst in every company where we come.' And in treating of repentance he says, 'Whether God has forgiven us or no, we know not; therefore be sorrowful for ever having sinned.' I take the more notice of this last sentence, because it seems to contradict his own words in the next session. . . . If we can never have certainty of our being in a state of salvation, good reason it is, that every moment should be spent, not in joy, but in fear and trembling; and then undoubtedly, in this life, we are of all men most miserable. God deliver us from such a fearful expectation as this! Humility is undoubtedly necessary to salvation; and if all these things are essential to humility, who can be humble, who can be saved?⁶⁴

Makarios does often talk about "full assurance" (*plerophoria* — see footnote 53), as we tangibly experience the presence of God in our being. For him, this experience

⁶³41.3, p. 266; cf. 27.3-5, pp. 201-03; 15.36-37, pp. 124; and 12.3, p. 90.

⁶⁴"Letters to His Mother," 5, *Works*, 8, p. 9.

assures us of his presence and care for us at *that moment*, but we cannot presume upon his continued presence, or, with infallible certitude, upon his actual forgiveness of and cleansing of our sins. We live in the *faith* (i.e. *trust*) that we are forgiven, not the *certitude*. Such certitude is not what is to be sought, but rather the Spirit himself. He himself is our earnest; because of him, "Although they have not yet received the perfect inheritance prepared for them in that age [eternal life], they are sure, from the earnest which they have now received, as if already crowned and reigning."⁶⁵

So, too, for Makarios, there need be no fear of death, for "Christians who are Christians in truth and efficacy are confident and glad at departure from the flesh, because they have that house made without hands, which house is the power of the Spirit dwelling in them."⁶⁶ Thus, without a specific, absolutely certain "witness of the Spirit" that one's sins are forgiven (as Bishop Taylor suggested, above), or that one is fully sanctified, there is, not misery, as Wesley automatically assumes, but joy and peace for the Christian nonetheless — from the experience of God's presence, and from simply trusting in God's mercy concerning our ultimate destiny. We do not need an infallible assurance of our salvation; this would actually, according to Makarios, reduce our sense of constant dependence upon God, leading to complacency and spiritual pride, which is an ever-present danger:

But as Christ took the form of a servant, and conquered the devil by humility, so at the beginning it was by pride and self-esteem that the serpent overthrew Adam; and the same serpent, lurking in hearts, still casts down and destroys the race of Christians by [unhealthy] self-esteem.⁶⁷

Thus, Makarios would say that *anyone* claiming to have

⁶⁵Homily 17.2, p. 143.

⁶⁶5.7, p. 52.

⁶⁷27.5, pp. 202-03.

such a "witness of the Spirit" as to be free from all sin, even if it is indeed so, is by that very claim demonstrating pride, and thereby is already falling from grace. The dangers of deception which Wesley points out would be amplified by Makarios; for someone to think he is freed from all sin, when really he is not, would never just be called "a harmless mistake" entailing "no danger."⁶⁸

Witnessing about a "Witness of the Spirit"

Once one is convinced by a "witness of the Spirit" that one has attained perfect freedom from all sin, the question naturally arises, "Q. Suppose one had attained to this, would you advise him to speak of it?" Wesley replies:

A. At first perhaps he would scarce be able to refrain, the fire would be so hot within him; his desire to declare the loving-kindness of the Lord carrying him away like a torrent. But afterwards he might; and then it would be advisable, not to speak of it to them that know not God; (it is most likely, it would only provoke them to contradict and blaspheme;) nor to others, without some particular reason, without some good in view. And then he should have especial care to avoid all appearance of boasting; to speak with the deepest humility and reverence, giving all the glory to God.

Q. But would it not be better to be entirely silent, not to speak of it at all?

A. By silence, he might avoid many crosses, which will

⁶⁸Wakefield agrees that Wesley underestimated the entrenched power of sin and the difficulty involved in its total removal from a believer's life. He suggests that Wesley could have learned more in this respect from the desert fathers. "La compréhension de Wesley en était imparfaite. Ici il ne comptait pas avec la nature corporative du péche. Peut-être aurait-il pu en apprendre davantage des Pères du désert" (p. 170 — "Wesley's understanding here was imperfect. He did not here fully consider the corporate nature of sin. Perhaps he could have learned more on this subject from the Desert Fathers").

naturally and necessarily ensue, if he simply declare, even among believers, what God has wrought in his soul. If therefore, such a one were to confer with flesh and blood, he would be entirely silent. But this could not be done with a clear conscience; for *undoubtedly he ought to speak* [my emphasis].⁶⁹

In his "Cautions and Directions Given to the Greatest Professors in the Methodist Societies," he says, "Above all, beware of *Moravian stillness* [his emphasis]"⁷⁰, i.e., their warning that to talk about one's great spiritual blessing causes the loss of it. Rather, Wesley encourages people to speak of their blessing. Still, it is obvious (as seen in the previous quotation) that he was keenly aware of the dangers of boasting and pride. Thus, he gives specific cautions concerning how one should talk about one's perfection:

Be particularly careful in speaking of yourself: You may not, indeed, deny the work of God; but speak of it, when you are called thereto, in the most inoffensive manner possible. Avoid all magnificent, pompous words; indeed, you need give it no general name; neither perfection, sanctification, the second blessing, nor the having attained. Rather speak of the particulars which God has wrought for you. You may say, 'At such a time I felt a change which I am not able to express; and since that time, I have not felt pride, or self-will, or anger, or unbelief; nor anything but a fulness of love to God and to all mankind.' And answer any other plain question that is asked with modesty and simplicity.⁷¹

Makarios, in contrast, nowhere urges people to talk about their spiritual blessings, let alone something that sounds so

⁶⁹"Plain Account," 11, p. 397.

⁷⁰Outler, p. 302.

⁷¹"Plain Account," pp. 434-35.

audacious as claiming to have attained complete freedom from sin (in this respect, he doubtless would be an advocate of 'Moravian stillness'!). In fact, he sternly warns against such talk:

No man of sound mind dares to say, 'While grace is with me, I am completely set free from sin' . . . People of no experience in these matters, when grace has had some little effect upon them, imagine that they have already conquered, and are perfect Christians. For my part, I say that the fact is this; — when the sun is in the sky, shining in a clear air, and clouds come about him and cover him, and make the air thick, and yet the sun, far within, is not robbed either of his light or of his proper being, so is it with those who are not completely cleansed. Being in the grace of God, and yet held by sin beneath the surface, they have the natural motions and their actual thoughts strong towards God, and yet are not entirely belonging to God.⁷²

And again:

In this way many have erred when grace came to them. They thought that they had attained perfection, and said, 'That is enough. We need no more.' But the Lord has no end, and there is no comprehending Him. Christians do not presume to say, 'We have comprehended,' but are humbled, still seeking night and day.⁷³

For Makarios, humility demands that one not intentionally tell others, no matter how "modestly and simply," about one's spiritual blessings, real and valid as they may be. If others ask, it is only proper to say, 'I have only begun to grow in Christ':

⁷²Homily 17.6, p. 145.

⁷³26.17, p. 193.

This is the mark of Christianity — however much a man toils, and however many righteousnesses he performs, to feel that he has done nothing, and in fasting to say, ‘This is not fasting,’ and in praying, ‘this is not prayer,’ and in perseverance at prayer, ‘I have shown no perseverance; I am only just beginning to practice and to take pains’; and even if he is righteous before God, he should say, ‘I am not righteous, not I; I do not take pains, but only make a beginning every day.’⁷⁴

Such humility is actually a gift of grace which becomes lodged in the soul of the Christian: “It is grace which ministers this effect and makes it *like a part of nature in the soul*” (my emphasis).⁷⁵

When no one is encouraged to seek a “witness of the Spirit” about one’s sanctification, when Christians are encouraged only to be ever more insatiably hungry for Christ, and when believers are urged not to talk of their spiritual blessings, there are apt to be fewer people succumbing to self-deception. The whole scheme, which Wesley details about how to tell if one’s testimony concerning personal perfection is valid or not,⁷⁶ is avoided. Also avoided is the cause of offense to others, whether believers or non-believers, upon hearing people talk about being perfectly free from sin. And Wesley’s great concern that one’s spiritual blessings should not be hidden “under a bushel”⁷⁷ actually is groundless, for the truly holy person does not need to say a word; simply his or her presence conveys the presence of Christ. When such a person talks of spiritual things, this is usually done without direct reference to personal experience, and certainly without any claims to specific spiritual attainments.

⁷⁴26.11, p. 190.

⁷⁵16.11-12, p. 140.

⁷⁶“Plain Account,” pp. 398-402.

⁷⁷Ibid. p. 398.

The Ultimate Goal of the Christian Life

The last difference between Wesley and Makarios which I would like to touch upon concerns what is actually the highest point of focus in each of their theologies. For Wesley, this sometimes seems to be the attainment "of what we, with Saint Paul, call perfection; a *state of soul* devoutly to be wished by all who have tasted of the love of God. O pray for it without ceasing! It is the one thing you want" (my emphasis).⁷⁸ And again, "all our Preachers should make a point of preaching perfection to believers constantly, strongly, and explicitly; and all believers should mind this one thing, and constantly agonize for it."⁷⁹ It seems that the emphasis is upon seeking a certain experience, or feeling, or disposition, or stage, or state — some kind of *it* rather than upon seeking *the Lord himself*. Wesley does talk about "an union with him that made them, the having 'fellowship with the Father and the Son,' the being 'joined to the Lord in one spirit.'"⁸⁰ But even here the talk of seeking union, fellowship, "happiness in God," glory, love, "the blessing"⁸¹ seems to be one step removed from simply an intense yearning for him. Another indication of a certain static quality in this perfection, which mitigates against allowing full personal freedom on God's part, is Wesley's view that our life in Christ should have no 'ups and downs,' that somehow the Lord's presence should be felt in an unvarying, albeit ever-intensifying, way. Wesley says, "And if, at any time, 'coldness seizes upon them,' let them be assured, they have grieved the Spirit of God."⁸² There does not seem to be a clear recognition by Wesley that Christ is totally free to deal with

⁷⁸"An Earnest Appeal," 8, p. 22.

⁷⁹"Plain Account," 11, p. 443.

⁸⁰"Plain Account," 11, p. 368; cf. "Extract of a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law," 9, p. 497, as well as various hymns included in "Plain Account" — 11, pp. 370, 386, 392, etc.

⁸¹"Plain Account," p. 403.

⁸²"Extract from a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law," 9, p. 498; cf. Wakefield, p. 157.

us as he desires, such that, for instance, for him sometimes to withdraw the sense of his presence from us may be the best thing we need to strengthen our faith.

Makarios, on the other hand, does not urge people to seek a specific state or experience; the highest focal point of his thought is simply God himself, and it is God we are to seek. He states that Scripture has been given to us "as His [God the King's] letters, declaring by them that they [Christians] should pray to God and, believing, should ask and receive a heavenly gift of *the substance of His Godhead*; for it is written, 'that we should be made partakers of the divine nature [2 Peter 1.4].' [my emphasis]"⁸³ In the same passage, "immortal life" is defined simply as "Christ." And again,

"This was the purpose of the Lord's coming, to alter and create our souls anew, and make them, as it is written, 'partakers of the divine nature,' and to give into our soul a heavenly soul, that is the Spirit of Godhead⁸⁴ leading us to all virtue, that we might be enabled to live eternal life."⁸⁵

This emphasis on seeking a Person rather than on 'it' is reflected in Makarios' recognition that this Person is fully free in his dealings with us:

To many who sought after God, the door has been opened,

⁸³Homily 39.1, p. 260.

⁸⁴This seems to be a re-statement of the Irenaian concept of the Holy Spirit as originally somehow having been an integral part of Adam's constitution, who then departed from Adam's being at the fall (cf. *Against Heresies* 5.6.1). His re-entry into man's being is now made possible by Christ's restoration of all human nature in his incarnation, which becomes functionally productive for each particular individual through water baptism (being buried with Christ and rising again with Him), and through personal faith and the on-going in-filling workings of the Holy Spirit.

⁸⁵Homily 44.9, p. 280; cf. 4.9-10, pp. 25-26; 5.7-8, pp. 51-52; 19.7, p. 161; and 47.11, p. 295.

and they have seen a treasure, and have entered into it; and in the midst of their joy, while they were saying, 'We have found a treasure,' He has shut the doors upon them. Then they began to cry aloud, and to mourn, and seek the more. 'We found a treasure and have lost it.' Grace withdraws of set purpose, that we may seek it more earnestly.⁸⁶

And again:

So in the spiritual order a man tastes and partakes of heavenly sustenance, and then, before he has done, it withdraws, and no one enables him to take his fill.

Q. Why is he not allowed to take his fill?

A. The Lord knows the man's weakness, that he is easily lifted up. Therefore He withdraws, and permits the man to be exercised and put to trouble. If you receive but a little, and no one can put up with you, you are so puffed up with it, how much more intolerable you would have been if some one had given you your fill at once! But God, knowing that weakness, providentially brings you into troubles, that you may be humble, and the more earnest in seeking God.⁸⁷

Here we see how God, in his sovereign freedom, intentionally withdraws the sense of his presence from the believer in order to prevent him or her from being "puffed up" due to the glory of previous experiences, thus encouraging in the believer the attitude of humility, and the constant sense of being utterly dependent upon God.

Conclusion

It seems that a general conclusion which can be drawn from this study is that Makarios, through his decades of ex-

⁸⁶27.12, p. 207; cf. 16. 13, p. 141.

⁸⁷27.7-8, pp. 203-04.

perience in prayer, asceticism, contemplation, and spiritual warfare, and his associations with hundreds of other monks undertaking the same spiritual endeavors, understood more profoundly than did Wesley the tenacious entrenchment of sin in the human soul, the incredibly deceptive machinations of the Evil One, and the tremendous vulnerability of the soul to delusion in spiritual things. Thus Wesley is much more apt to allege the attainment of perfection in others than Makarios is. It seems that he often made the quite understandable mistake, which Makarios carefully warned against, of considering a certain powerful spiritual experience as being a total cleansing from sin in someone, when it was in reality only a partial cleansing. Concerning his own personal spirituality, Wesley followed Makarian realism, wisdom, and humility in never claiming to have attained perfection⁸⁸; but it seems he was swayed, despite all his caution, by the testimonies of many who said they had "received the blessing." (Perhaps he was overly influenced here by his empiricist bent!)

Apparently he was also swayed, in a crucial way, by his particular understanding of a "witness of the Spirit," conceived of as being parallel to the inward testimony received when one is instantaneously justified by faith alone, which can convince and guarantee that the state of complete holiness *has indeed been bestowed*. It is this very concept of an inner feeling convincing us that God has given us a specific spiritual blessing, which becomes, through the teachings of people like Phoebe Palmer, the doctrine of the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit," which in turn becomes the lynchpin of the theology and praxis of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement.

Makarios, however, did not believe in such a "witness of the Spirit," neither in an alleged moment of justification nor of sanctification (both of which are more fluid, overlapping concepts for him than for Wesley). To him, such an idea

⁸⁸Preface to "A Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day of the Week" [1775], *Works*, 14, p. 272.

or suggestion would automatically be considered to be instigated or abetted by the forces of evil, bespeaking, as it does, pride and/or delusion, and not the humility whereby one *always* considers oneself "to have achieved nothing." Therefore, Makarios would have been even more diligent than Wesley was in challenging those claiming such a "witness of the Spirit" to rigorously search every aspect of their lives, and to evidence any spiritual blessings through every dimension of their lives. Even more importantly, whereas Wesley allowed, and even encouraged, such people to talk, albeit with discretion, of their attainment of perfection, Makarios warned repeatedly against ever making such a claim; even though perfect freedom from the necessity of sinning is possible in this life, to ever say that one has attained such closeness to God would be automatically to lose this grace due to self-exaltation and misunderstanding. But in the final analysis, perhaps the differences in the two approaches, similar though they are in many respects, hinge on Wesley's emphasis upon seeking a certain state/experience/feeling/blessing, while Makarios emphasized seeking only the *Giver* of all blessings, the Lord Jesus Christ himself, with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

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humanity, is Perfection, the Absolute'' (p. 91). Basset talks of the historian's need to put historical material in order and start from a fixed point, and concedes that dialogue with his colleagues has caused him to rethink the whole concept of history.

Finally, though each has discussed and developed his own point of view, Synesios concludes "we have agreed on the greatest — on humanity. Each of us respects the humanity of the other. That is to say that we respect in each one the spark enclosed within him, the spark from God's light" (p. 182).

Of course, *Dialogues in a Monastery* shows Tsatsos exploring different philosophical and theological points of view in pursuit of the truth through his dialogical characters. Certainly, Jean Demos' smooth translation is excellent in providing English readers with ready access to one of Greece's most provocative thinkers. For this we are indeed grateful.

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The Fathers Speak: St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa. Selected Letters and Life-Records. Translated from the Greek with an introduction by George A. Barrois and with a Foreword by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 224. 1 map. Paper, \$8.95.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life. Trans. Catharine P. Roth and David Anderson. Introduction by Catharine P. Roth. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 114. Paper.

The House of Holy Wisdom: A Homily on Proverbs 9. By Father Bessarion [Agioantonides]. Foreword by Chrysostomos, Bishop of Oreoi. Alamogordo, NM.: Saint Anthony the Great Orthodox Publications, 1987. Pp. 56, including illustrations. Paper, \$8.00.

In this day and age when there is, at the same time, an incredible amount of freedom and license in Western society and when the very foundations of the family and the Church are being shaken by contemporary movements to liberalize every aspect of society, and institutional Christianity is often blamed as the source of many of the West's current social, moral, and political problems, it is only appropriate that books like *The Fathers Speak*, *St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life*, and even *The House of Holy Wisdom* should direct our attention to the patristic and scriptural sources that have provided so much of the proper and dynamic foundations of Christianity. The late Georges Barrois, who taught at Princeton Theological Seminary and at St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary, was a respected biblical archaeologist and historian of medieval Latin who, among many books and articles, included a contribution to sections of the Jerusalem Bible. His commitment to the Orthodox Church also made him a profound student of the church Fathers. In *The Fathers Speak*, he did not intend to present the contribution of three Cappadocians to the development of Christian dogma so much as he wanted to introduce us to the intimate personal lives of Saint Basil, Saint Gregory of Nazianzos, and Saint Gregory of Nyssa by offering us, for the first time, an anthology of texts collected almost exclusively from the personal correspondence between Saint Basil the Great, his close friend Gregory "the Theologian," and his younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in this way revealing "the warmth of their affection for one another, their problems in 'the chaotic' situation stirred up by heretics and politicoes courting the favor of the Basileus, their interventions in favor of little people, their foundations for the sick, the poor, the travellers, their spiritual pieces of advice, their Hellenic culture, their Athenian witticisms, the most intimate details of their frugality . . . and bulletins on their state of health" (p. 220). Professor Barrois has successfully sought to share with us something of the humanity of these Fathers by giving us a "sampler" that would bring out what was most characteristic of their personalities.

Still, we learn, in an informal way, of their views on the Trinity, on marriage and family, on simony, on abortion, on friends, and other subjects, and are told of the way the Christian community performed Communion, marriage, and funeral rites, and carried on its everyday life. Despite such non-existent English words as "condisciples," "inexistant," "intrigant," and "mutism," the translator generally gives us a readable text that should command wide attention and interest.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life contains excellent renderings of Saint John Chrysostom's Homily 19 (on 1 Corinthians 7), Homily 7 (on Ephesians 5.22-23), Homily 21 (on Ephesians 6.1-4), Homily 12 (on Colossians 4.18), his sermon on marriage, and his advisory on "How to Choose a Wife." Catharine Roth provides an excellent introduction. She notes that Saint John expects couples to be transfigured by Christian love: "When two become one in Christ, their love can enable them to transcend any limitations imposed by the world. Depending on their spiritual gifts, either one may teach the other, and both together may fill their common life with as much holiness as any monks" (p. 11). Equality of husband and wife in matters of sex and responsibility is stressed as is God's reasons for the institution of marriage: first, to promote the holiness ("chastisy") of the husband and wife and only secondarily to produce children. Saint John Chrysostom's emphasis on the harmony and integrity of marriage, the love of husband and wife for each other, and their essential unity are themes which contemporary social critics would do well to ponder. Saint John Chrysostom repeatedly stresses, in accordance with Saint Paul, that "after marriage, you are no longer two, but one flesh" (p. 62) and "there is no relationship between human beings so close as that of husband and wife, if they are united as they ought to be" (p. 43).

St. John on Marriage and Family Life contains selections from this celibate church Father that provide an excellent array of scriptural and early Christian arguments for the *Christian* basis of marriage and family life. They are arguments that served well for more than 1500 years and are

now being questioned, even rejected, in the name of freedom, but Saint John Chrysostom reminds us that "if you transgress God's law, you become a slave even if you appear to be free" (p. 36) because "a man shows he is truly free when his spirit remains unfettered" (p. 37).

In *The House of Holy Wisdom*, produced on the occasion of the 1450th anniversary of the dedication of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia (February 17, 537 A.D.), Father Bessarion, Superior of the Monastery of Saint Anthony the Great in Alamogordo, New Mexico, takes us back to Proverbs 9 in the King James version, of which he presents a commentary in twelve parts in which "Wisdom" is both an attribute of God and a name of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures. The house of God is the Holy Church which he founded" (p. 21). The commentary interprets Proverbs 9 prophetically in terms of the Christian message of salvation, in a style reminiscent of the early Christian Fathers. Father Bessarion also includes a short section called "Scriptural Comparison" with biblical references to Holy Wisdom and the "House of God"; an Orthodox hymn; notes on Bishop Chrysostomos, himself, and the publisher; an index of scriptural references; and a brief general index. The aim of this modest publication is to "serve the needs both of those seeking to understand Christianity of the first centuries as well as those desiring to know more about the Scriptures and the Orthodox Church." The list of errata at the beginning unfortunately does not include *all* of the typographical errors actually committed.

The Fathers Speak and *St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life* are important resources for a proper understanding of the church Fathers and indicate something of their contribution to Eastern Christianity; Father Bessarion's *minus opus* provides the reader with an opportunity for spiritual meditation in the Orthodox tradition. All should be noted for their forthright Christian perspective.

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The Apocalyptic Character and Dimension of the Icon in the Life of the Orthodox Church

GENNADIOS LIMOURIS

FOR MANY PEOPLE TODAY WITH A WESTERN EUROPEAN background of religion and art, icons seem to be odd paintings; they have often been dismissed as insignificant. The lack of "realism" in icons has been a major problem for Western people. Only slowly has interest penetrated through to the more ancient traditions and works of Christian icon painting. Layers of mental and spiritual misunderstanding had to be surmounted, as well as layers of dirt and overpainting on the icons themselves, before the true glory and wonder of the great tradition of icon painting could be revealed. The work of scholars, restorers of icons, and men of prayer has opened up the doors of perception,¹ and now we can enter into the microcosmos and macrocosmos of the holy icon with a sense of wonder and awe. The entry into this mystic world of the icons can at the same time be an entry into our own interior spiritual life, a passing through the "narrow gate" that leads to life.

Images were prohibited in the law of the Old Testament because they endangered the worship of the one God, who is Spirit. In the East, the sense of the infinite was expressed in the geometrical forms of ornamental art. Among Muslims,

¹See John Baggle, *Doors of Perception — Icons and Their Spiritual Significance* (London, 1987), p. 1.

the notion of the radical transcendence of God was to be reinforced by non-representational art, arabesques, and polygonal decorative art.

Towards the beginning of the Christian era, however, Judaism itself adopted a less rigorous attitude.² Compared with the human creature, whose image had been obscured until its likeness to God turned into dissimilarity, only the angelic world remained pure — so pure that its portrayal was even commanded by God (Ex 25.18-22; 1 Kings 6.23-32). This divine command is extremely significant. It meant that the heavenly world of spirits could be depicted in art, for it possesses the human form: the covenant had ordained the Old Testament's bequest to us of the sculptured icon of the cherubim.

Christ delivers us from idolatry not negatively, by the suppression of all images, but positively, by revealing the true human form of God. If only Christ's divinity defies representation in any form and if the humanity on its own, separated from the divine, loses all significance, the fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod in their wisdom proclaim that "his (i.e. Christ's) humanity is itself the image of the divinity. Whoever has seen me has seen the Father." The iconographic function of the visible is affirmed, i.e. its role as image of the invisible.

The icon has its biblical foundation in the creation of humanity in the divine image, which demonstrates a certain conformity between the divine and the human, and explains the union of the two natures in Christ. God is able to see himself in the human and be reflected in the human as in a mirror, for humanity is in his image and God speaks our human language. He also has human form. Moreover, the best icon (i.e. "likeness") of God is the human being. During the Liturgy, the priest censes the whole church and its

²Cf. Catacombe de la Vigna. Also André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936); *Les voies de la Création en iconographie chrétienne* (Paris, 1979); *Le premier art chrétien (200-395)* (Paris, 1966); Kostas Papaioannou, *La peinture byzantine et russe* (Lausanne, 1965).

members for the same reason as he censures the icons; the Church salutes the image of God in human beings.

The Icon — Light of the Glory of God

The procedures and principles of a transfigurative art, the art of the icon, were defined by the undivided Church, in particular by the teaching of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod.

The first point to be made is that the whole Church, with its architecture, frescoes, and mosaics, constitutes one huge macrocosm of an icon which is to space what the unfolding of the Liturgy is to time: "heaven on earth," the manifestation of the divine humanity in which the "flesh" destined for death is transformed into something spiritually corporeal.

The icon, therefore, is not purely decorative, nor merely an illustration, as many say of the Scriptures. It is an integral part of the Liturgy and, as one great iconographer, Leonid Ouspensky, has written, "a means of knowing God and becoming one with him." It permits us to know God via beauty.

For God, indeed, has not only made himself heard but has also made himself visible. He gave himself a face, and the icon *par excellence* is that of the cross. "Since the Invisible One clothed himself in flesh and appeared visibly, let the likeness of him who manifested himself be depicted."³ The incarnation is the foundation for the icon and the icon points to the incarnation. If it is possible for human art to give an idea of the transfigured world, this possibility rests on the fact that the matter used in human art has been secretly sanctified by the incarnation. "I do not worship matter but the One who created it and who, for my sake, himself became matter . . . and by matter saved me," says Saint John of Damascus.⁴ To depict Christ in the mystery of the incarnation is also to depict the members of his body, the Church:

³Saint John of Damascus, *Defence of the Holy Icons*, in PG 94.1239.

⁴Ibid. PG 94.1245.

the icon depicts not only God becoming human but also humanity becoming God.

The icon, therefore, presents a personal presence. It points to humanity's true face, its microcosm, its face for eternity, this third beauty to which we are called. The icon simply has to resemble the model; it cannot dispense with this resemblance. While rejecting the subjective impression of the model, however, the icon does not seek a "photographic" objectivity. Its bond is to communicate with the macrocosm and, finally, communion. But here the resemblance finds expression in the encounter of two persons, Christ and the iconographer in the communion of the Church. It is always the same Christ but to each one on each unique occasion he reveals himself in a unique way. Thus there is one single holy face faithfully kept in remembrance by the Church, the bride, and as many holy faces as there are iconographers. The reason is that the human face of God is inexhaustible and, as Dionysios the Areopagite has stressed, always keeps for us its inaccessible character as the face of all faces and the face of the Inaccessible One. "Whoever has seen me, has seen the Father." (Jn 24.9) The Seventh Ecumenical Synod forbade any direct depiction of the Father, principle of the Trinity and source of the divinity. In Christ, transcendence makes itself available without ever ceasing to be in the beyond.

What is true of the face of Christ becomes true of the face of a human being when filled with the Holy Spirit. The art of the icon thus transcends the opposition — highlighted by the French writer André Malraux — between the arts of the non-Christian East, witnesses to an impersonal eternity, and the arts of the modern West, dominated by individual sensuality and anxiety. It is in the inexhaustible depths of the face that the art of the icon expresses eternity, which is not fusion but communion, genuine *koinonia*.

The Orthodox philosopher and theologian, Olivier Clément, compares the image of Christ with images in other religions — in particular with the image of Buddha — and

even the image of a Christian saint with that of a Buddhist. The Christian face reaches fulfillment in communion. It is enclosed in the microcosm of humanity, whereas the Buddhist face is suppressed in an inwardness where there is no longer the self or the other but an indescribable nothing. The face, the "prosopon," is in both cases haloed. But the Christian face is in the light, like iron in the fire, a light which glows and turns the microcosm outwards towards a universe full of hope, towards the macrocosm of humanity. The Buddhist face, on the contrary, expands to become one with the luminous sphere in which the halo is the cross-section. The Christian face is thus, at one and the same time, inwardness *and* welcome; and the Buddhist face, with its eyes closed in self-recollection, is plunged into the void of silence and interrogation.⁵

Moreover, by a concrete symbolism in which expressiveness defeats all the seductions of allegory, the icon gives us a foretaste of humanity's deification (*theosis*) and the sanctification of the universe, in other words, a foretaste of the truth of created beings and things. The symbolism is always in the service of the human person; in manifesting the human person, it becomes part of the fulness of communion.

But this light in the icon comes from no precise source, for, as the Revelation of Saint John says, the new Jerusalem "has no need of sun or moon to shine upon it, for the glory of God is its light." This light is always everywhere, without casting any shadow, or rather, it is always interior, everything is illuminated from within. It is the very heart of the icon that iconographers designate as "light" ("*phos*"), a symbol of God as the "all in all."

The perspective is often reversed. The lines, instead of converging on a "vanishing point," symbolizing a "fallen" space which separates and imprisons, expand in the light, "from glory to glory." Coming to us from the infinite, almost

⁵Cf. Olivier Clément, *Questions sur l'Homme* (Paris, 1976), pp. 193-95.

invariably facing towards us (even a profile would signify absence), the saints make this deified space accessible to us.

Within this setting, the face is depicted with as great a personal likeness as possible, but at peace, integrated, irradiated by the Spirit. Delicate and pure lips and reduced interiorized ears, everything converges upwards towards the larger than life-size eyes, full of gravity and tenderness (as Saint Makarios says, the sanctified human being becomes "all eyes!") and towards the broad forehead of wisdom.

For Orthodoxy, however, the theology of light is not merely metaphorical, not a literary device designed to disguise some abstract truth. As Vladimir Lossky says, neither is it, strictly speaking, a doctrine, an intellectualist system which tends to substitute abstract concepts for the realities of experience.⁶ Its negative "apophatic" character finds expression in paradoxical oppositions, in continuity with the theological practice of the church fathers who affirmed the basic dogmas of Christianity by confronting our minds with antinomies such as unity *and* trinity in the doctrine of the Trinity, duality *and* unity in the case of Christology. In fact, *just as* the dogmas of Nicaea and Chalcedon require of us an ineffable distinction between the nature and the person in order to safeguard the mysterious reality (the real mystery) of the Trinity and of Christ, truly divine *and* truly human, *so too* the doctrine of the real distinction between the essence and the energies, which is required of our minds by the antinomy of the unknowability *and* the knowability of God, who is incommunicable *and* communicable, transcendent *and* immanent, has no other purpose than to defend the reality of divine grace, to leave the door open to the mystic experience outside of which there is no spiritual life in the true sense of the word. For the spiritual life requires that the Christian dogmas be not only confessed but also received by ordinary Christians. Within this universe of discourse, we can have

⁶Cf. Vladimir Lossky, "La théologie de la lumière chez Saint Grégoire Palamas de Thessalonique" in *Dieu Vivant* (1945), p. 117.

no further difficulty in accepting the hard saying of Saint Symeon the New Theologian by which the name of Christian is refused to those who have not had the experience of the divine light in this life.

The notion of the light is inherent in Orthodox spirituality. The two go together inseparably. We may know nothing, for example, of Saint Gregory Palamas of Thessalonike (fourteenth century), or of his role in the doctrinal history of the Eastern Church, but we shall never be able to understand Eastern spirituality if we disregard the theological foundation which found its definitive form in this great holy father of Thessalonike.

The religious art of Byzantium was long unappreciated in the West as was the equally artistic merit of the Russian icons, as V. Lossky says.⁷ It took a long time before we learned to appreciate the Western "primitives" out of the same tradition. Will it be the same story for the doctrinal and spiritual tradition of Eastern Christianity? If we learn to appreciate this tradition, then doctrinal features which proved points of discord in the past will perhaps become fruitful sources of a future spiritual renewal⁸ in the movement of Christians and churches towards the hoped-for unity of the Church of Jesus Christ.

The art of the icon, therefore, is in no way limited to a "style" nor is it even something peculiar to the Christian East. The vision of this art of the icon was shared by the Christian art of the West, not only down to Romanesque art but even down to the Italian *Trecento*. It did not itself become stereotyped. While it remained faithful to the same deep inspiration, embodied in the "canons" which stipulate the significance of episodes and the identity of personalities, this inspiration was precisely that of the divine-humanity, which is why, more than once, it embraced and even inspired the

⁷Cf. *ibid.* p. 118.

⁸Cf. Yves Congar O.P., "La déification dans la tradition spirituelle de l'Orient" in *La vie spirituelle* 118 (1st May, 1935), p. 107.

explorations of renaissance humanism. We too often forget that it was from Macedonian art and Serbia that the affirmation of the human in the beautiful reached Italy and in the thirteenth century inspired there a "transfigured renaissance," a divine humanism, which quickly disintegrated in the succeeding centuries. The movement lasted longer in the Byzantine world, culminating in the first frescoes of Mistra in the Greek Peloponnese, and still more in Constantinople with the tenderness and dynamism of the Karie monastery. Then came the last invasions, which destroyed the Byzantine civilization, internalized and, so to speak, eclipsed Orthodoxy. This was followed by the far-reaching divisions of Christianity. The present encounter of West and East will perhaps permit a new flowering of "divine humanism."

Clearly, the depiction of the uncreated light which transfigures a face on an icon obviously cannot only be symbolic. But the intrinsic originality of this art is seen in what the symbol does for the human face, and in how it expresses the fulness of the individual life. The symbolism of the icon is thus based on the experience of Orthodox mysticism: the huge eyes with their quiet tenderness, the ears abridged as if internalized, the pure and delicate lips, the wisdom of the enlarged forehead — all this bespeaks of an integrated being, at peace, enlightened by grace, and in a harmonious equilibrium.

The saints are almost always depicted full-face on the icons. They welcome the one who looks at them and lead him or her into prayer, for they *are* themselves prayer and this the icon shows. Their postures, their garments, the atmosphere surrounding them — all is infused and ordered by light and peace.

The light of the icon symbolizes the divine light. This light does not come from any one precise source, since the "heavenly Jerusalem" has no need of sun and moon, being illuminated by the divine glory (Rev 21.23). It shines everywhere, in everything, without casting any shadow. It suggests God himself making himself light for us. It is this basis

of the icon, therefore, that the iconographers call "light." The perspective is often reversed. The lines do not converge on a "vanishing point," symbol of a "fallen" space which separates and imprisons, but expand in the light "from glory to glory."

The icon is not only instructive, but also has the quality of a mystery. The divine grace reposes in the icon and this is the most important point, the most mysterious aspect of the theology of the icon: the "resemblance" — likeness — to the prototype and the "name" of the prototype constitute the objective holiness of the image. "The icon is sanctified by the name of God and by the name of the friends of God, i.e. the saints, and this is why it receives the grace of the Holy Spirit."

The icon forms an integral part of the Liturgy; and it is essential in the celebration of a festival that the icon — which is mobile and by the directness of visual perception reveals the significance of the event being commemorated — be exhibited in the centre of the nave. In a more extended manner, the whole church building, with its architecture and its frescoes or mosaics, represents in space what the liturgical word represents in time, namely, the reflection and anticipation of the Kingdom.

Liturgical art, and especially the icon, which is moreover inseparable from the Word and from the Church's worship, has a sacramental status. We can only speak of the icon as a sacrament if we abandon a sacramental conception which fragments, parcels up and "thingifies" the sacramental reality, and turn instead to the mystery of the Church, the unique and sufficient sacrament of the salvation imparted by the love

⁹Saint John of Damascus, PG 94.1300; cf. O. Clément, *Questions*, p. 195. We must remember here the whole biblical concept of the "name" as evocation of a personal presence. The icon "names" by the use of form and colours; it is a represented name; this is why it makes present to us a prototype whose holiness is communion. Like the name, it is the means of an encounter which enables us to partake of the holiness of the one we encounter.

of the Holy Trinity in the redemptive work of the incarnate Word and of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ But then the icon appears as a gift of the sacramental fulness without which Orthodoxy would be seriously impoverished and which is one of the most creative facets of witness, both within divided Christendom and in the secularized world by which it is encompassed.

In the Church's living experience however — which is primordial and pre-theological — the icon is a sacrament of the divine humanity of Christ (i.e. a mode of the latter's presence and communion with it). "Since God has now been seen in the flesh and been received among us human beings," writes Saint John of Damascus, "I represent what is visible in God."¹¹ In this way, Saint John of Damascus affirms the christological and "incarnational" foundation of the icon. This is the starting point for a theology of the icon. With its christological basis, however, this theology of the icon must be no less interiorized and balanced than that christological basis itself. Saint Basil helps us to understand this when he affirms in his well-known dictum: "The honour shown to the Image passes to the Prototype."¹² The literary and historical context of this dictum, of course, is the trinitarian and pneumatological controversy in which Saint Basil found himself engaged. It was by a secondary but profoundly legitimate and even essential theological extension that this dictum came to be used in the iconoclastic conflict and was eventually given the seal of official approval by the dogmatic definition of the Second Synod of Nicea.¹³

¹⁰Cf. B. Bobrinskoy, "L'icône, sacrement du Royaume" in *Supplément au Service Orthodoxe de Presse*, 112 (Nov., 1986) 2.

¹¹Saint John of Damascus, *Imag.* 1.16.

¹²Saint Basil, *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* 18.45, in PG 32.149C; see also *Sources Chrétiennes*, vol. 17 (1946), p. 194; cf. Funk, *Abhandlungen* 2.25.

¹³It should be noted here, therefore, that not only is it found in the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, but right at the heart of the most important arguments where Saint Basil defines, in what is probably a quite unique way in the whole of patristic literature, the *tropos* or particular mode of the action of the Holy Spirit in the undivided trinitarian economy of

Saint John of Damascus, moreover, as Christoph von Schönborn has demonstrated, distinguishes the different sorts of images: first, the most perfect, the Son himself, perfect image of the Father; then, that of the human being, humanity as created in the image of God and called to resemble God; finally, icons in the strict sense.¹⁴ A contemporary iconographer shows us clearly the painted icon's resemblance to the prototype, which is precisely that of the growing correspondence between the icons we venerate and the interior which is in the heart of each single human being:

The divine image and likeness implanted in humanity at creation are, so to speak, the condition invented by the creator who permits himself to be revealed in the human image by a tangible means accessible to contemplation. This image and likeness of God, given to humanity at the very moment of its creation, is already a sort of archetypal icon, an image given by God which cannot be consumed even in the Fall of humanity, but must be continually

salvation. What Saint Basil is saying in brief is that the Spirit is at one and the same time the *locus* or *place* of trinitarian worship by the creature and also the *place* of the latter's sanctification by the divine Trinity. It is in the "space" of the Spirit, therefore, that we contemplate the Son and, through him, the Father: "When, under the influence of an illuminating power (that of the Spirit) we fix our gaze on the beauty of the image of the Invisible God and through this ascend to the entrancing spectacle of the Archetype, the Spirit of knowledge is inseparable from this, in itself conferring the power to see the image on those who love to contemplate the truth" (Saint Basil, *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, 18.47). Saint Basil also says, "It is impossible for us to see the Image of the Invisible God except in the illumination of the Spirit" (*ibid.* 26.64).

This pneumatological dimension or condition of the vision of Christ, the perfect image of the Father, is fundamental for the theology of the icon. Without it, the appeal of the icon-lovers to Saint Basil's classic dictum becomes insipid, and the relationship of the image to the prototype becomes external, illustrative, and notional.

¹⁴Cf. Saint John of Damascus, *Defense of the Holy Icons*, 1.9-13 as cited by Christoph von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ, Fondements Théologiques* (Paris, 1976 and 1986), pp. 191-93; cf. B. Bobrinskoy, *L'icône*, p. 5.

renewed, revived, purified and, by the effect of God's grace and by human ascetism, so to speak, must be ceaselessly painted in the depths of the soul. By ascetism and by sanctification, the image of God is inscribed in the depths of the human heart, and this uninterrupted and indispensable constructive effort is the fundamental condition of the life of humanity, a sort of persistent imprinting of Christ's image on the very foundations of the soul. In his incarnation, Christ appeared as the restorer of the divine image in humanity; indeed, he is more than its restorer; he is the total and perfect execution and achievement of the image of God, the Icon of all icons, the Source of every sacred image, the Image not made by human hand, the living Jerusalem.¹⁵

On the basis of this correspondence between the painted icon and the image of God in the human heart, we can return to the question of the sacramental character of the icon, i.e. its capacity and its function, on the one hand, to convey and transmit to humanity the sanctifying presence of Christ and his friends the saints, and, on the other hand, to lift up to God the prayers of the Church and the individual Christian. This is the icon as microcosm with, in various degrees and for various reasons, a sacramental value and function. In its sacramental character, therefore, the icon functions in three modes: in its development, permanence, and mediation. It is these three modes of sacramentality, too, which constitute the icon so that it can simultaneously function in its macrocosm, at all times and in all places.

Every icon, therefore, both in the theological consciousness and in the spirituality of Orthodoxy, is ontologically "miraculous," charged with the life-giving energy of the Spirit of Christ. Here too, the current doctrine of the Church concerning the "objective" sanctity of sacraments (*ex opere*

¹⁵Grégoire Kroug, *Carnets d'un peintre d'icônes* (Paris, 1983), pp. 35-36; Russian text (Paris, 1978), pp. 15-18.

operato) and the transparency of the ministrants of the sacraments to the grace of God (*ex opere operantis*) is fully applicable to the icon, as a place of the divine presence and an instrument of God's grace. While every icon, in virtue of its sacramental nature, is "miraculous," in certain icons the presence of God is manifested more tangibly, and the prayers of the Church can accumulate in them and be "capitalized" with greater density. The grace of God does not scorn to establish and manifest itself in the most beautiful product of human art and prayer.¹⁶

An identical movement of revelation makes of the icon a "visual gospel," the pictorial gloss of the gospel. To the declaration of the iconoclasts that "the art of images has no basis in the economy of salvation," the "horos" of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod replies: "The more Christians contemplate the icons and the more they remember the one who is represented and try to imitate him, the more they show respect and veneration, without any adoration, in the strict sense of worship, which is due to God alone. Woe betide anyone who would worship images!"

Movement — Time — Space

The icon represents live matter laid hold of by glory. Beneath the living immobility of bodies, the dynamism of the Spirit rises like a secret sap invigorating all the limbs, diffusing first the palms of the hands and then finally the face, the supreme place of spiritual concentration. The bodies stretch or bend obediently so as to match exactly the lines leading to the spiritual center of the icon. Their senses are in all respects like our own, yet different, for the saints no longer belong to themselves but to the Spirit moving within them. Surprised at what they hear, the ears seem vibrant with the voice of God; the delicate lips are quickened by contemplation and on them words of praise tremble; the eyes abnormally dilated, are wide open "to the light which makes them gods."

¹⁶Cf. B. Bobrinskoy, *L'icône*, p. 8.

In his incarnate Word, God became a face turned towards humanity. The human figures depicted full face in the icons expose themselves to the intimacy of direct "eye to eye" inspection, their faces offering the largest possible space for communion. Even a profile representation would signify absence. "When you enter your room, bow to the icon and catch the glance of God!" say the fathers of the Church. To meet with God is thus possible in this crossroads of contemplation and prayer and here we can find ourselves present at a new Pentecost.

Time

The icon, like the Liturgy, transcends *time* and is located at a perpetual "today" — today, the first of the days remaining to us to live for eternity. The icon makes itself the faithful contemporary of the mystery it represents. The figures represented are also clothed "in classic style," though without further precision. The icon freely depicts, simultaneously, scenes widely spaced in chronological time, placing side by side saints from different periods and widely distant places. It shows the disciples and Christ ascending Tabor on one side *and* coming down on the other side, *and* witnessing the Transfiguration at the summit. The same is true of those nativity scenes that show Emmanuel asleep in the dark cavern while at the same time servants are washing him. The icon is, thus, a "supra-logical" vision irradiated by faith in the God for whom one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day.

Space

"Behold the earth of him who is unearthly, the boundary of the unbounded, the space of him whom all space cannot contain." These words can be read inscribed on the panel of the first porch by anyone who visits the church of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople. Every church is thus designated as the awesome place where God dwells. In the icon, "He who cannot be confined allows himself to be confined; he who

is nowhere in visible things allows himself to be seen." Under the thrust of the presence of God, the cosmos is transformed: the rocks are stretched upwards by geometric degrees; trees, rivers, and monuments join in the pictorial movement, in total submission to the Spirit. Uplifted by the Spirit, matter recovers the malleability of its beginnings, as readily worked as the clay under the potter's fingers, soaring up, tier upon tier in balanced movements which seem to defy the laws of gravity. In order to become the *contemporary* of the believer contemplating it, the icon disengages itself from specific localities and from time. For how could walls possibly restrict him whom the world itself cannot hold? Here we have to recall the whole biblical view of the "name" as an evocation of a personal presence. The icon "names" by the forms and colours it employs; it is the representation of a name, hence it makes present a prototype whose holiness is communion. Like the name, it is the medium for an encounter, whereby we are made partners in the holiness of the One whom we encounter.¹⁷

Flight from the Present World

The summons of the icon to contemplation is not unconnected with the unusual kind of humanity offered to us in it. This is one of the deepest dimensions of the icon. The humanity represented in the icon is a humanity associated with heavenly glory. It is a humanity which bears the marks of the hieratical, the priestly: with attitudes and gestures unchanging, unassailable by suffering and death. The eyes are wide open to another universe. As Saint John of Damascus said, there is something impressive in this — something also to impress our contemporaries who have acquired an expertness in diagnosing the signs of the ills of our time, something above all to attract our young people who are so interested in other worlds.

In contemplating the icon, the beholder is meant to be

¹⁷O. Clément, *L'Église Orthodoxe* (Paris, 1965), p. 107.

led beyond the forms to the frontiers of the undepictable: not by the suppression or the disregard of forms but by going beyond them, that is, by that long journey which does not arbitrarily violate the visual function by some intellectual trick but turns our beings from the visible to the invisible, by an authentically mystical path that leads us into the night of the senses. Flight from the world is *not* the chief mark of contemplation.

Contemplation, then, is not simply flight from space and time. When the place of prayer no longer contains any other sign, the question forces itself upon us: How can the world around us — the world of space and time, those two characteristics of the incarnation — how can that world become the place where we meet with God, the very substance of the prayer of believers?

Encounter of the East with the West

This is where we wish to put the question of the encounter with the East. The West has become desiccated by its undue use of rationalism and didacticism. In this respect, the icon with its poetry and its experiential character can teach us in the West a salutary lesson. The modern devotees of the icon have taken this lesson to heart. On the other hand, it would be a pity if there were to be a loss of the Western genius for filling space by imposing form on it, and for realism in representation in learning the same lesson. With all its many qualities, the icon has not yet sufficiently proved its capacity to produce from its present store more than certain lessons of the past. It has not yet achieved in the West the sacralization of the contemporary world. What is new, what is urgent, what seizes up the whole religious world is industry and the machine. We must therefore encourage the few painters of icons who state the problem in these terms.

Any icon indicative of indifference to this appropriation of time and space would seem to us suspect. The neo-romanticism of youth today might well feel at home with it and delude us into thinking that everything is fine, but it would

only be an excuse for evading the work of building up the world by contenting ourselves with mere dreams of doing so.

Icon — Presence of Christ

What the painter seeks to represent in the icon is not human nature but the deified human person. Not by the earthly portrait, which is a sign of absence, a reminder of someone departed, but the transfigured person, namely a *presence* in a new world; the “present-ness” of those who remain living in the light of God. The icon has no independent existence; it is only coloured wood and dust. Its whole value is derived exclusively from the fact that it leads to him whom it represents. It is the image of the invisible because Christ made himself visible for us in the incarnation, and the incarnation justifies the icon. That is quite fundamental. “If it were the icon of the invisible God we imagined we were creating, we should be quite mistaken. For that is impossible, since he is bodiless, faceless, invisible and infinite. But that would *not* be what we were creating and we should be making no mistake in depicting the image of the God who was incarnate, who revealed himself on earth in the flesh, who moved among us and assumed the nature, the three-dimensional substance, the form and the colours of our flesh and blood.”¹⁸ Human substance, saved from then on, can express the mystery of deified bodies, since God became human so that humans can become God.

The icon, then, is Christ’s *presence* in our midst. This is why the icon is consecrated, the image becomes the equivalent of a sacrament whereby the persons depicted are personally present. Consecration removes the icon from the realm of the artist’s studio, even of the religious artist’s studio; in order to turn it into a medium for the divine presence. The role the icon plays for the believer is that of *anamnesis*, i.e. a living memorial of a special moment in the life in Christ. The icon sends us somewhere beyond itself: the artist is

¹⁸Saint John of Damascus, *Defense of the Holy Icons*, PG 94.1239.

effaced behind the tradition; the work of art becomes a place of the presence.¹⁹ The more humble the icon is, i.e. the more authentic in theology and contemplation, the less of an obstacle it becomes and the more a springboard.

The icon thus remains a gamble with the impossible. "To whom then will you liken God or with what likeness compare with him (Is 40.18)?" How difficult it is to meet this challenge is clear from history; but it is also clear from history that the prayer of the Church has been the master of history, a seed of life sown to guide humans from their earth to the eternal God.

No Idolizing of the Icon!

The icon is a work of art which surpasses art. The message of the icon, far from being purely aesthetic in character, is by nature theological. This is the reason the icon speaks to people of our own day as it has spoken to those in the past history of Christianity. If the present craze for icons is not without its suspect features, such as fashion and snobbery, it nevertheless points, above all, to the Christian faith of every age.

In fact, the icon is primarily the living affirmation of the worth of matter, a creature of God, created by him to bear witness to him. By its existence alone, every icon evokes the mystery of the incarnation. It affirms, not in theory but in practice, that it is possible for us human beings to speak to God and that we have available a language in which to bear witness to our faith. A language, however, even if as rich and as magnificent as Byzantine art, still remains inadequate when it comes to speaking to God, as the church fathers have frequently pointed out in their talk of apophaticism. Nor is there any question of idolizing the icon. In assigning the icon its

¹⁹The iconographer does not sign the icon. He remains anonymous. Often we owe our knowledge of a number of celebrated names of iconographers solely to the tradition of the churches which have preserved these names for us.

place, for it is part of the tangible order, part of the material order. To deny matter the capacity to express God in its own way would, of course, deny not only its value as part of God's "good" creation, the work of God's hands, but also its divine-human value, accruing to it from the incarnation. The icon, however, does not suppress the other orders, that of the mind and that of love. Even if it is allied to them, it makes no claim to replace either the Creed or the sacrament, because it is itself the sacrament of the Kingdom of God.

The Icon — Facing Both the Visible and the Invisible

The icon claims to be the image of the invisible and even a presence of the invisible. There is an element of surprise in such a claim. It comes as a surprise more perhaps to people today than to people in the past. How is the icon to be understood in its deepest dimensions? It is a mystery, but with all the literature which has been written about it, we can at least try to discover this mysterious mystery. Initially, we can define the image as a simple conveyor of information, even if the sacred image by its symbolic character also has a transcendent dimension. In fact, the image describes a personality (or an event); it recalls the person it depicts and thereby becomes a bond between the person represented and the person confronted with the icon.

All this, however, is still within the order of the intelligible. With the icon, however, this order is left behind. The intelligible is only the outward aspect of the icon; whereas its essence is to be the bond of the present. Although this presence is not the same as the reality of the subject, it cannot be reduced to a simple memorial. But how is the icon to be explained theologically as the bond of a presence? In seeking to answer this question, we shall come to understand the difference between the icon and every other image, and also its place in tradition and its role in liturgical life, as these have been defined by the Church.

We shall confine ourselves to theological arguments which dominate the discussion and the conflict. For the debate is

indeed a theological one. Far from being a secondary question or a matter of devotional practice, iconoclasm was a recapitulation of all previous heresies. It was an attack on the very heart of the Christian faith, the meaning of the incarnation and therefore the very mystery of God the creator. The reason why the struggle between the iconoclasts and the defenders of icons was pushed even to martyrdom was because in defending or condemning the cult of icons, people were defending or denying the Christian faith itself.²⁰

The Icon as Theological Treatise

No icon, not even the humblest, is content to simply depict a scene or a personage. It also includes a theological background. Using its own media of form and color, the image represents what the Scriptures teach in words. While theology with its arguments lends depth to a doctrine, the image offers, as it were, a vision of this same truth. The image remains within the realm of representational figures even when it transfigures concrete reality to emphasize its theological significance. From the very beginning, icons were composed of two elements. The theological aspect has always been inseparable from the concrete representation. This rule will govern every appraisal of iconography.

But the theological event also has another function over and above that of the panegyric. While the latter remains principally within the domain of language and form, making the icon into a "laudatio" or panegyric of the saint, the theological element keeps fundamentally to the subject represented, whose mystery it reflects, and thereby lifts Byzantine art to its ultimate in spiritualization.

This theological aspect can dominate the entire composition, as can be seen from the twelfth century in the "Annunciation" icon of Oustiony, in which the figure of the

²⁰Cf. Vladimir Soloviev, *La grande controverse et la politique chrétienne Orient et Occident* (Paris, 1953), pp. 72-73.

Emmanuel is imprinted in red on the Virgin's breast. Later on, especially in Russia from the sixteenth century, the theological aspect actually becomes the theme of the representation: the icon henceforth is no longer the hypostatic presence of the prototype but a theological treatise. This can be illustrated from the development of the icon of the Holy Trinity. In the Byzantine world it was known as the "Philoxenia," i.e. "hospitality" (that of Abraham welcoming the three strangers). This very ancient theme is found from the fourth century onwards on a mosaic of Saint Mary the Greater, depicting the episode narrated in Genesis (18.1-15). The Greek fathers consistently interpreted this episode as a visit of the Holy Trinity to Abraham. The attention shown to these three heavenly personages is in keeping with this theophanic character. But the details — the articles placed on the table, Abraham and Sarah fussing over their guests, the servant preparing the meal — give a rather historical atmosphere to the whole conception. This form was imitated down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and, with Andrei Rublev, the doctrinal aspect dominated and defined the entire composition. The details are reduced to the bare essentials: the three heavenly persons in silent tête-à-tête; the table now an altar with nothing on it except the eucharistic chalice. Some of the accessories — the rock, the oak tree, the dwelling — are transformed into symbols; an invisible geometric pattern (chiefly the circle) creates a unity which enables us to guess the painter's intention, namely, to represent the Holy Trinity in its movement of love and as source of salvation for humankind. This conception does not lessen the historical value of the scene but superimposes on it a theological interpretation. In this way, therefore, an icon seeks to depict the message of the eucharistic reality in the mystery of the incarnation by the power of the Holy Spirit, or rather, by the whole work of the Holy Trinity. A dynamic icon of trinitarian action acquires a sacramental form, the form of its own sacrament of the Kingdom.

The Icon as Image and Participation in the Divine

In his analysis of the different types of images, Saint John of Damascus applies the neo-Platonic categories of Dionysios the Areopagite. The image, for him, is a participation in the model, in the prototype. It is not purely poetical but ontological; participation is an ontological resemblance. By its very nature, participation in the order of the creature is never adequate but always a deficiency. Saint John of Damascus, for example, defines the image as "a resemblance which defines the prototype but at the same time differs from it in some respect."²¹ The degree of resemblance depends on the degree of participation in the prototype. This is the classification principle used by Saint John of Damascus. Starting from the consubstantial image which is the Word, he ends up with the icon, the reflection of invisible realities in matter. In its perfect form, he says, the image exists only in the Holy Trinity: this image is the eternal Word begotten of the Father and possessing as such the fulness of the divine nature. All that the Father possesses is also the Son's.²² The Word is a perfect participation, a perfect likeness, without defect.

The nature of the image is the same as that of the prototype. The next level in this hierarchy is the image God himself has of the things he has created; the world as it exists in "the pre-eternal counsels of God." Here Saint John of Damascus adopts the term employed by Dionysios the Areopagite, who speaks of "predeterminations." Before they existed, from all eternity, things are presented in the thought of God as a model, an image.

Images of the third kind are visible representations of things invisible, "formless so that, in giving them bodily

²¹This is how canon 82 of the Quinisext or Trullan Synod (the *in Trullo*) is to be understood. Only the icon can express the incarnate character of the Christian faith; the Symbol (creed) retains its place as long as it fulfils its function.

²²Cf. Epistle to the Colossians 1.15: "He is the image of the Invisible God" and also Epistle to the Hebrews 1.3: "He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature."

forms, we may have a veiled knowledge of them;”²³ the reason being that humanity cannot rise to the contemplation of things invisible without the mediation of visible things. So it is that Scripture is adapted to the inadequacy of the human mind to awaken our desire for God. Nature likewise reveals the mysteries of the faith; the mystery of the Trinity is reflected in the sun, its light and its rays and, to resemble God, humanity has received the intelligence, the word and the breath of life.

The fourth type of image is close to the third type: future things which can be prefigured by a thing or an event in the present: the burning bush, for example, evokes the Mother of God, the water and the cloud evoke the Spirit who baptizes.

The fifth class of image is that of things past, made in order to preserve the memory of a personage or an event. These images are expressed in lines of words or in drawings on pictures, for all to contemplate. “Thanks to them, we avoid what is evil and aspire to what is good.”²⁴ It is here that Saint John of Damascus mentions icons: “Today we also paint images (icons) of persons of outstanding goodness, so that we may be reminded of them, and imitate them, and also out of love for such persons.”²⁵ That is as far as Saint John of Damascus goes in his analysis of the image. Within this hierarchy ranging from the perfect resemblance of the substantial identity between the Father and the Son to material things, the icon occupies the humblest place. Here the analogy is the least perfect. Saint John of Damascus does not distinguish the reciprocal image, the only one capable of participating in the substance of the prototype, and the artificial image which participates solely by resemblance. For Saint John of Damascus, the conception of the image is based rather on ontological participation.

²³Christoph von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ* (Fribourg, 1976), pp. 191-93.

²⁴Saint John of Damascus, *Defense of the Holy Icons*, in PG 94.1243-44.

²⁵Ibid. PG 94.1245.

These ambiguities are explained by the fact that Saint John of Damascus had to contend with the fundamental objection of the iconoclasts, namely, that matter itself is evil, incapable of representing spiritual realities. To rehabilitate matter, he sticks to the neo-Platonist categories of Dionysios the Areopagite. For example, he gives ontological participation a new aspect by making Christology his basis:

I will never cease venerating the matter whereby salvation came to me. But I do not venerate it as I venerate God. How could God possibly be what came into existence from nothing? Even if the body of God is God, having become by hypostatic union changeless, that which gives unction while remaining what it is by nature, animated flesh of a reasonable soul, created and not created? But I also venerate the rest of that matter through which salvation reached me, as being filled with divine energy and grace. Do not despise matter! It is not something shameful, for nothing that God made is shameful!

This passage clearly shows the richness of the character of the image, even if it is placed last in the hierarchy. The basic principle of this conception remains the incarnation of the Word. In the union of the Word with human nature, the body of Christ becomes holy, filled with grace. John even calls it *homotheos* (equal to God). And in his body, all matter has been sanctified. It seems that in the thought of Saint John of Damascus there was the notion of a diffuse communication of the holiness of Christ's body to other forms of matter, an ontological participation between the body of Christ and its effigy. Thus the icon can become a mediator of grace.

At first sight, these two analyses and views of the image — one deriving in spirit and method more from Aristotelianism, the other following the pattern of the neo-Platonism of Dionysios the Areopagite — seem opposed. But in the end they support each other. The analysis of a sign starts from

the simplest form and rises to the symbol with its epiphanic character. The analysis of the icon starts with the consubstantial image in the Godhead and descends to the most material of its forms. The latter conception is undoubtedly the richer of the two; it presupposes the revelation of God in Jesus Christ and is more customary in the Byzantine world. What is common to both, however, is the essential feature of the icon: a presence of the ineffable springing forth from matter.

The Spiritual Microcosm and Macrocosm of the Icon

The true content of the icon, however, is a real spiritual orientation of the Christian life and, in particular, of Christian prayer. It is the microcosm by which the Christian is distinguished by his persistence in prayer in a topsy-turvy world around him. The icon thus shows us this microcosmic attitude we are to adopt in our prayers — on the one hand, towards God, and on the other hand, towards the world around us. This is how the spiritual microcosm is opened up towards the macrocosm of the universe. For prayer is conversing with God and it also has dimensions which are universal. This is why, for prayer, an absence of passions is needed; we must be deaf and unresponsive to the external stimuli of the world, a world divided, secularized, dualistic, stricken on one side by ideologies and philosophies and on the other side by church divisions, with churches living in expectancy but moving towards a unity which is so difficult not only to achieve but even to envisage in our thoughts.

With the aid of colors, forms, lines, and symbolic realism, a pictorial language unique of its kind, the spiritual world of humanity as transformed into the temple of God is revealed to us. The inner order and peace to which the holy fathers of the Church bear witness are conveyed in the microcosm of the icon by the outward peace and harmony. The entire body of the saint, with all of its details, even his dress and everything around him, is unified, restored to a supreme harmony in the macrocosm. We have here a visible manifestation of the triumph over the division and chaos which reigns

in humanity and in the world.

But the purpose of the icon is not to stimulate or magnify in us a natural human feeling. It is not something "touching" or sentimental. As L. Ouspensky says, its purpose is to orient all our feelings, as well as our minds and all other dimensions of our human nature, towards transfiguration, by stripping them of all exaltation which could only be unhealthy and harmful.

At the same time, however, the icon helps us to decipher every human face as an icon. For every human face is an icon. Beneath all the masks and ashes, every human being, however ravaged he may be by his destiny, by the destiny of history and civilization, carries within him the pearl of great price, this hidden face. During the Liturgy in an Orthodox church, when the priest censens the people, he censens every individual Christian, and in every individual Christian he censens the possibility, the opportunity, of the icon, in some sense or other, the chance of the ultimate beauty, of true beauty.

This beauty, moreover, is commended in the faces of the saints and can be recognized, among many others, in Saint John, Saint Paul, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Seraphim of Sarov. These faces, rich in true beauty, represent this transfigured microcosm of these friends of God, as Saint John of Damascus was fond of saying. And these friends of God become our friends. We are not alone; no one is alone in his or her solitude. We freeze to death in our solitude; whereas the Church was meant to be a huge "society of friends" whose people are friends. Their friendship, moreover, is a totally selfless friendship in our world, a world in which friendship is constantly being secularized, sexualized or politicized, and in which there is a longing for genuine selfless friendship.

The icon, then, is the Christ, the God who became a face. It is also the faces of all the friends of God who are our friends and who insist on including us in their circle. And already, the icon represents the Kingdom of God; anticipating the

Kingdom of God, starting from the one place where we see this already anticipated: here on earth in the human face! The Kingdom of God is anticipated, either starting from the beauty of the world, though this is an ambiguous beauty, or starting from certain faces, certain old faces, fashioned by a long life, faces which have not been plunged into resentment or bitterness or the fear of death, faces of those who do not flinch as they approach death, faces that know precisely where they are, and have found again the mind of a child.

Conclusions

“Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?” This was the question put to Jesus before his ascension. “It is not for you,” he replied, “to know the times or the seasons which the Father has kept in his own power; and you shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth” (Acts 1.6-8).

The Church at Pentecost accomplishes its mission of bearing witness to Christ. The task of bearing witness in the world still remains today. Throughout the fluctuations and vicissitudes of history, the Church of Christ, by the grace of the Spirit which quickens it, is and remains the community which witnesses to its faith in the risen Christ in expectation of the complete consummation of the will of the Father, even though we are not permitted to know “the times and the seasons.”

Already in the apostolic age, the first Synod of Jerusalem (Acts 15) marked a decisive step in the history of the Church. Other ecumenical councils or local synods marked other equally significant steps, based on the tradition of the Church and the canons of the fathers of the Church. These synods, moreover, have also been witnesses to Christ, to the unity of his Church, to the reality of the life in the power of the Spirit, witnesses for their contemporaries but also for the centuries to come, cementing the continuity of a universal tradition from apostolic times down to the final consummation

by God. The Seventh Ecumenical Synod has its place in this historical, canonical, and theological context.

In our contemporary world, the witness of the Church becomes more than ever an urgent necessity. After past centuries of division, struggle, indifference, and even enmity, the "ferment" of the nations and peoples of the world poses with renewed intensity the problem of the unity of the Church. Although the assemblies of the World Council of Churches, the Second Vatican Council, and even the holy Pan-Orthodox Synod in preparation, are assemblies of all the divided Christians — each of them has or will have a universal significance.

Such meetings, however, will only have true ecumenical significance if within each confession and communion there is a sharpened self-awareness; for the earnest of the future unity cannot be merely a hurried compromise. Quite the contrary! It is in further deepening their respective traditions and faith that the divided Christian churches rediscover Christ and the true faith of his Church which is his body, in a dialogue which can only be sincere and honest if it is marked by repentance (*metanoia*) and a return to the common roots of the tradition of the undivided Church of Christ. In today's world, in which the assimilation of ideas happens more easily than ever before, it is in the deepest self-searching that our thoughts and hopes should be turned towards unity. Filled with distress at the unstable conditions produced after two appalling wars and fearful of the danger of a further and even worse disaster today, those of the younger generation are looking for a safe haven in the renewed Church, for a dialogue and an answer to their main existential concerns, in which they will thus be able to find the peace, justice, and tranquility of soul for which they are searching.

Let us hope that the churches will respond to this appeal and without hesitation set aside their pride, their meticulous speculative theological discussions and the secondary reasons which have caused their divisions, and do all in their power, without detracting from the fundamental principles of their existence, to unite together in one immense moral force for

the glory of God. Already having unity, we are pained that it is so little apparent. Let us not forget that God wants us to be active and strong in the faith as we forge that unity. It is up to us, therefore, to see it that the gifts of grace given to us bear fruit. Seeing the icon of Christ, Saint John of Damascus could exclaim again: "I saw the human power of God and my soul was saved!"²⁶

²⁶*Defence of the Holy Icons*, PG 94.1256.

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The Baptism of Kievan Russia and the Manuscript Heritage of Mount Athos*

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IN 1963 THE WHOLE OF THE ORTHODOX WORLD SOLEMNLY celebrated the millenium of Athos and, at present, the Russian Orthodox Church is about to mark another outstanding event, the millenium of the baptism of Russia (988-1988). These two commemorations are separated by a quarter of a century, but when regarded from an historical perspective, it could be considered that they took place almost at the same time. And if these continue to be regarded in the historical aspect, the Christianization of Mount Athos and Russia, it could be noted that relations were established early between the Holy Mountain and Russia which mutually influenced the process of the development of spiritual culture. This process, in spite of the difficulties that emerged, has never ceased up to now.

The significance of Athos in the history of the Orthodox Church's spiritual life needs no special proof. Since the Middle Ages and up to now, the Holy Mountain has been renowned for the severe asceticism of its dwellers who lead there a life of work and prayer. The Athonite monasteries and sketes have always attracted numerous pilgrims from many countries of the world. It is known that Athonite monks included the study of spiritual literature among their monastic duties

*Unless otherwise indicated, the original titles are in Russian.

and were constantly copying religious, philosophic, and historical manuscripts. The Mount of Athos gave to the Orthodox world a number of prominent theologians and hierarchs who later did a great job of spiritual instruction in the countries abroad where they were to serve in Christ's vineyard.

The book repositories of Athonite monasteries have been for several centuries an inexhaustible source for many in the Orthodox Churches — theologians, linguists, paleographers, and others. "For such researchers, the Holy Mountain is holy for its historic and often unique relics," the Russian scholar G. A. Ilyinsky wrote at the turn of the century.

Experts of many specialties have found and will be finding a vast and often still untapped field for their research there. If it be a linguist, he will find there linguistic monuments of venerable age with the important and remarkable phonetic and morphological traits; if it be a classicist, he will discover there extremely valuable copies of the works of Byzantine literature and, at every step, he will gather armfuls of the material he needs; if it be a paleographer, he will always always find there first-rate manuscripts, sometimes unique in their kind; or if it be an archaeologist or an art historian, he will unearth there magnificent samples of Byzantine architecture or painting, and he will have at his disposal there on Athos literally mountains of still unpublished documents and charters in Greek, Latin, Church Slavonic, and other languages.¹

The outstanding value of Athonite manuscripts had been noted long before by European scholars and by Russian researchers in particular. The pilgrim scholars who had come to Mount Athos from Russia went to the monastery libraries and, as well as they could, made short or more extensive descriptions of the ancient manuscripts they saw. Due to the efforts by Vassili Grigorovich-Barski (eighteenth century), Bishop Porfiri

¹G. A. Ilyinsky, "The Importance of Athos in the History of Slavonic Literature," *The Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (= *ZHMNP*), New Series, 18 (1908) 2.

Uspenski, Professor V. I. Grigorovich, Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, P. I. Sevastianov (nineteenth century), and many others, the contemporary researcher could by now have discovered the treasures of the Slavonic and Byzantine literature.

In the present paper, only those Athonite manuscripts will be considered which include data referring to the period of the baptism of Russia and the period immediately preceding it. The outstanding position in discovering such manuscripts is rightfully held by Archimandrite (Bishop since 1865) Porfiri Uspenski (1804-1885). While visiting Athos several times, he discovered in Athonite book repositories a number of such testimonies. Thus he made a good job of his visits to the Zographou Monastery book depository; the result was the publication of an ancient liturgical manuscript, a monument directly concerning the Christianization and spiritual instruction of the Slavs. Archimandrite Porfiri wrote:

It is to the seventh century that I attribute the composition of a Liturgy for the Slavs in Bulgaria entitled *The Liturgy of Saint Peter the Apostle*. It is remarkable to the highest degree and, therefore, I bring it to the knowledge of the public as the first monument of the most ancient ecclesiastical literature among the Slavs in Bulgaria. It has been discovered by me in the library of the Monastery of Zographou.²

When working at the library of Iveron Monastery, Archimandrite Porfiri made an outstanding discovery which became quite an event for the whole of the Orthodox Church. It was the discovery of "The Four Sermons of His Holiness Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, Delivered on the Occasion of the Russians Attacking Constantinople." Father Porfiri had already been ready for the discovery, which is clearly seen from the letter he wrote concerning the discovery he made:

Scholars in Europe and Russia have already known for

²Porfiri Uspenski, *Second Voyage to the Holy Mountain of Athos* (Moscow, 1880), p. 179.

a long time that the famous Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, delivered two sermons about the Russians falling upon Constantinople, but they did not know the contents, as these were never published and their copies have not been found in the best European libraries, although the beginning of each is given in the catalogues. The Most Reverend Archbishop Filaret of Chernigev, in the historical work he wrote on the Fathers of the Church, made mention of these sermons, but at the same time regretted that they had never been found and published. For a very long time, these two jewels, which are truly invaluable for Russia had lain buried. But now they are found! I have discovered them in the book repository of the Athonite Iveron Monastery. It was on the 28th day of the month of December, 1858.³

Archimandrite Porfiri understood the great importance of the discovery he made for the Russian Orthodox Church and, thus, he sent a letter to the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, Count A. P. Tolstoi, posted from the Iveron Monastery and telling of his discovery:

I inform you that in the library of the Athonite Iveron Monastery, on the 28th of December last, two sermons by His Holiness Patriarch Photios on the siege of Constantinople by the Russians were discovered by me, and I ask you kindly to transmit this news to our Academy of Sciences which has been looking for them, even in the Madrid library, without finding them. These, together with other exhortations of Photios are included in a manuscript containing many other pieces by the famous hierarch. The manuscript (*in folio*) is a stenographic transcript on paper done in 1628, and used to belong to Patriarch Dionysios of Constantinople, a prominent benefactor of

³“Letter to Prince S. N. Urusov, November 10, 1860,” *Materials for a Biography of Bishop Porfiri Uspenski, Volume 1* (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 866-67.

the Athonite monasteries. The small script in it looks almost like Persian characters, but it is still legible. I am copying these two sermons and, after returning home, will publish them together with the Russian translation.⁴

In Father Porfiri's words, out of all the sermons by Patriarch Photios,

only sixteen have been preserved, and even those are known to scholars only by their general contents, since they have never been published in full, except for the two given in the latest edition of the complete works of Photios brought out by Abbé Migne, and, thus, they have never been translated into any language. I found them in the manuscript-rich library of the Athonite Iveron Monastery, and rejoiced when I found them. This was on the 28th day of the month of December 1858. They were given there in a book written on paper *in folio*, on the 26th of the month of June 1628, on Saturday. The book in question, which belonged to Patriarch Dionysios of Constantinople, includes two letters from Photios to Pope Nicholas and a letter to the Church of Antioch, seventeen canons of the Holy and Great Council held under Photios in the Church of the Holy Apostles, sixteen sermons by this patriarch and, also by him, 275 letters to different persons, a treatise under the name of Amphilochios, and two treatises on body and soul. The sermons of Photios absorbed my whole attention as mysterious rarities would. I greedily devoured the first two, and when I saw the titles of the third and the fourth, one on the attack by the Russians, and the other for the same occasion, I went into a rapture so that all of my being was consumed by joy. And what an occasion for joy it was! For I, who had been looking in the East for valuable jewels, had found two of them about which few people knew, and very, very many of them never heard about, and which I myself had

⁴“Letter to A. P. Tolstoi, January 1, 1859,” *ibid.* p. 769.

many of them never heard about, and which I myself had longed to discover, and longed so passionately that later I desired no happier find. Both sermons were exactly copied by me, and the artist that was with me made a sample copy of its handwriting on transparent paper. After this work, which had been delicious, I read the other sermons of Photios, so dear to me, and chose and copied two more, on the veneration of icons and on the eradication of heresies in the Byzantine realm.⁵

These four sermons by Patriarch Photios were translated from the Greek by Archimandrite Photios and published in a separate edition in 1864. A few more things should be added. In this edition, Father Porfiri gives the following words by Patriarch Photios about the Russians which are to be found in his Encyclical Letter to the Eastern Churches: "Now they themselves have exchanged their unholy pagan superstitions for the pure Christian faith, and having accepted a bishop and teacher, behave like obedient sons and friends."⁶ If we keep in mind that 988 is accepted as the official date of the baptism of Russia, Patriarch Photios, who lived in the ninth century (about 820-891), could not have spoken about the Russians who were pagans at the time. But on the other hand, the suggestion by V. I. Lamansky should be also taken into account, according to which the first baptizer of Russia was Constantine the Philosopher, from whom the Rus received Slavonic writing and Slavonic liturgy.⁷ The first Russians might have been baptized at the time of the Khazar (Russian) mission of Constantine the Philosopher, that is, in Photios' lifetime.

An interesting document related to historical events leading to the baptism of Russia was discovered in the book depositary of the Hilandar Monastery and was later given in a work

⁵Uspenski, *Four Sermons by His Holiness Photios, Archbishop of Constantinople* (St. Petersburg, 1864), pp. 51-52.

⁶Ibid. p. 52.

⁷Cf. V. I. Lamansky, "The Slavonic *Life of Cyril* as a Religious Epic and an Historical Source," *ZHMNP* 14 (1904) 165.

by Archimandrite Leonid Kavelin devoted to an historical description of the monastery.⁸ Among the ancient manuscripts noted by Father Leonid in the Hilandar library, there was the "Sermon by our Teacher Constantine the Philosopher," where the following words in the text sound very typical indeed as the millenium of the baptism of Russia draws near:

The Holy Gospel is proclaimed. Just like the prophets said earlier: Christ is coming to gather all the peoples, for he is the light of the world. They said that the blind would see, and the deaf would hear the literal word, and they shall know God as they should. Thus, hear it, all Slavs . . . Hear, all Slavonic people, hear the word, for it comes from God . . . and thinking about this all, brother Slavs, we say it to be the true light that shall free all men from animal-like life, so that you would not be hearing as if hearing the clang of a noisy gong, having an unintelligent mind and listening to the word in a foreign tongue . . .⁹

Another Russian scholar, Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, had also been to Athos. From 1865 up until his death, he was the head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Jerusalem. He could spend only a short time doing research in the libraries of the Holy Mountain, but he stayed considerably longer in the Monastery of Saint Catherine. In 1870 he was there for a few weeks compiling a catalogue of Sinaitic manuscripts. Among other books he saw an ancient Slavonic *Book of Hours*.

It was not without pleasure that I discovered a work of Church Slavonic antiquity I did not know. The book opens with the service, "at the cock's crow," that is, the Midnight Service. There is something very ancient, simple-hearted, and homely in this word brought into the Church

⁸Leonid Kavelin, "A Historical Description of the Serbian Lavra of Hilandar in its Relations to the Tsardoms of Serbia and Russia," *Proceedings of the Society of History and Russian Antiquities* (= *CHOIDR*) 4 (1867).

⁹Ibid. pp. 119-20.

straight from the gospel narrative. This alone could already show this manuscript is well worth a scholarly treatise. Another *Book of Hours*, also on parchment, is less ancient and seems to be of Russian origin. In the monologion attached to it are mentioned the feasts of October 1, March 3, May 9, and July 15: /commemoration/of Volodimir/=Vladimir/who baptized the land.¹⁰

Considering Athos again, it should be noted that already by the middle of the nineteenth century, Russian scholars were faced with the task of studying the history of the old Russian-Athonite relations. Thus in September 1844, Professor Viktor Ivanovich Grigorovich of the Kazan University came to Mount Athos. He was entrusted with the task of studying the Holy Mountain manuscripts "related to Slavonic pilgrimage, especially in the period of the baptism (of Slavs)." During the four months he was there, V. I. Grigorovich went to a number of monasteries. Back in Russia, he wrote the book, *An Account of the Journey in the European Part of Turkey* (Moscow, 1877), second edition, in Russian.

In late 1844, Grigorovich visited the Esphigmenou Monastery. In his notes he drew attention to a remarkable local feature there directly relevant to the time of the baptism of Russia and the establishment of the traditions of Russian monasticism:

The Monastery of Esphigmenou is cenobitic, and is not less old than the most ancient of them, and, for us Russians, noteworthy by the fact that Antoni of the Caves leads an ascetic life there. His cave and a church, which seems to have been built later, are situated near the coastal cliffs at half an hour's walk from the monastery itself.¹¹

¹⁰Antonin Kapustin, "From the Notes of a Pilgrim to the Sinai," *Proceedings of the Kiev Theological Academy (TKDA)*, 1873, 375-76.

¹¹V. I. Grigorovich, *An Account of a Journey in the European Part of Turkey* (Moscow, 1877).

This belief widely held by the Esphigmenou monks later reappeared in the book by A. G. Stadnitsky, born in Bessarabia (Metropolitan Arseni later), who, of course, paid especial attention to the places connected with the memory of his famous compatriot. Stadnitsky wrote:

Saint Antoni came to Athos and settled in Esphigmenou in the late tenth-early eleventh century. After living there for a while at the blessing of a spiritual director, he went to dwell alone not far from Esphigmenou, on the mountain called Samara, a fourth of a Russian mile from the monastery where he used to retire into the cave he dug himself.¹²

In the first decades after the baptism of Russia under Saint Vladimir, spiritual creativity began to develop within this young church. It was so fruitful that it soon made a certain impact upon Athonite literature. The father confessor of the Hilandar Monastery, Priestmonk Domentian, should be mentioned in this connection. He was the author of *The Life of Symeon (Stefan Nemanja)*, 1264.¹³ In this book, a special role of ancient Russian literature is apparent, in particular of the writings of the Russian metropolitan Ilarion (1051-1054). Well-known among his works is "The Word on Law and Grace," which was known in Serbian literature already since the thirteenth century. The author of *The Life of Saint Symeon*, Saint Domentian, who lived on Athos, used *The Word on Law and Grace* as a source for his work on ecclesiastical history in 1264.¹⁴

In the first decades since the adoption of Christianity by

¹²A. G. Stadnitsky, *Diary of a Student Pilgrim to Athos* (Kiev, 1886), p. 131.

¹³The Serbian prince Stefan Nemanja (1159-95) became a monk in 1195, taking the name Symeon, and retired to Hilandar.

¹⁴For more details, see M. P. P.-iy, "Ilarion, Metropolitan of Kiev and Domentian," *Communications of the Division of the Russian Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences* (= *IORYAS*) 13 (1908) 81-133.

Russia, literary traditions continued to be developed on Mount Athos; manuscripts were written which were later seen by Russian scholars. Thus, interesting information on the library of the Russian Saint Andrew's Skete is given in the notes of Bishop Nikanor Kamensky of Smolensk and Dorogobuzh who came to Mount Athos as the Russian Orthodox Church was solemnly celebrating the 900th anniversary of the baptism of Russia. "In the Skete of Saint Andrew," Bishop Nikanor wrote,

I was shown a Greek Gospel, a contemporary of the conversion of Russia to Christianity. I partly guessed it was very old, beautifully written on parchment in clear, almost square letters not unlike Slavonic ones. And we were further assured in this sense by Archimandrite Gregori, the librarian, who demonstrated to us printed samples of ancient texts.¹⁵

Another Russian scholar who went to Mount Athos in 1858 was P. I. Sevastianov. In the book repository of the Kastamoni Monastery, he made a number of copies of the pages of an ancient Gospel Lectionary (ten pages), dated 6541 (1033).¹⁶ This ancient manuscript soon had to travel from Kastamoni to Russia. The Archimandrite of the Kastamoni Monastery, who came to Russia in 1864 to collect offerings for the needs of his monastery and in order to express his gratitude to the Holy Synod for granting him the permission to make collections to restore some half-decrepit buildings in Kastamoni,¹⁷ gave it to the Synod as a present, by the intermediary of Metropolitan Isidor. The Synod, in its turn, gave it to the Theological Education Board for it to be transferred to the

¹⁵Nikanor Kamensky, "Reminiscences of the Holy Land and Athos," *SBB* 48 (1898) 52-53.

¹⁶A. P. Viktorov, *I. Sevastianov's Collection of Manuscripts* (Moscow, 1881), p. 82.

¹⁷"In 1864 and 1865, Hegumenos Symeon of Kastamonitou collected many offerings throughout Russia and especially in Siberia where he visited Kyakhta and even entered a Mongolian temple and saw the idols there." Cf. Uspenski, "Christian Orient. Athos. The History of Athos, Part 3. The Monastic Athos," *SPB* 42 (1892) 371.

library of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. In this way, the Academy library was enriched by the invaluable ancient manuscript which occupied the most prominent place among other ancient, but later, manuscripts.¹⁸

The following features were made use of to establish the dating: on the reverse of the penultimate (397th) leaf, the inscription was found which said in Greek: "Achieved in the month of December, the 30th, of the second indiction, in the year 6542 under the Emperor Romanos,"¹⁹ that is, December 30, 1033. This Gospel soon found its way from the Academy library to the Church Antiquities Museum founded in the late 1870s under the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. In 1872 one of its students wrote his Candidate of Theology paper on it.²⁰ Later the Gospel was kept in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad and is, at present, in its collection of Greek manuscripts.²¹

The information on the initial period of the conversion of Kievan Russia was gathered by Archimandrite Porfiri not only on Mount Athos, but in the Sinai as well. Studying Slavonic manuscripts he found in the Sinai Monastery, he came upon data on early Russian history. "It is with great affection and a feeling of inexpressible tenderness," Father Porfiri wrote, "I read in one of the most ancient Slavonic liturgical books about the Proverbs of Solomon the following addition: 'The reading of Genesis. Yaroslav, having heard

¹⁸A. R. "A Greek Manuscript Gospel of the First Part of the Eleventh Century in the Collection of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, No. B 1/2," *Christian Reading*, Jan./Feb. (1892) 91.

¹⁹"Emperor Romanos III (Argyros) was a patrician under Emperor Constantine VIII, and at Constantine's death (November 15, 1028), he immediately ascended the throne. He died a violent death on April 11, 1034." Cf. Skaballanovich, "Byzantine State and the Church in the Eleventh Century," *SPB* 14 (1864) 26.

²⁰A.R., "A Greek Manuscript Gospel," p. 94.

²¹Gospel Lectionary 1033, on parchment. Binding, wood and leather, covered with silk. B.I. No. 2, State Public Library, Collection of the SPB Theological Academy. Cf. B. E. Granstrem, "The Greek Manuscripts in the Leningrad Depositories, Issue 3," *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 19 (1861) 201.

that his father was dead and Sviatopolk ruled in Kiev, became extremely sorrowful about his father and brother.' " Father Porfiri noted in this manuscript another such addition: "The reading of Genesis. I have established on thy walls, O Vyshegorod (= Vyshgorod) a watch for the day and night, that shall nor sleep nor slumber in guarding and strengthening your Fatherland, the land of Russia, against your foes. The just are alive even beyond death."²² Thence, Archimandrite Porfiri drew the right conclusion that "our ancestors loved their homeland and their rulers. Indeed they read accounts of their deeds in churches just like Holy Writ. And what people could be compared with ours in the manifestation of this love?"²³

In fact, as the prominent specialist on the Slavonic Bible Professor I. E. Evseyev noted,

in church liturgical readings since the twelfth century in Russian manuscript copies, under July 24, the commemoration of the Princes and Sufferers Saints Boris and Gleb, Russian-composed texts were read under the heading of the appointed *paroemias* from the books of Proverbs and Genesis: (1) Proverbs: "Brethren, do be helpful in tribulations"; (2) Genesis: "Yaroslav, having heard that his father was dead"; and (3) Genesis: "I have established on thy walls, O Vyshgorod." These *paroemias* are known in copies until the seventeenth century.²⁴

It is remarkable that not only Russian scholars, but some of the inhabitants of Athos, have engaged in the study of the history of the baptism of Russia. In relation to this, the account of the activities of Archimandrite Dionysios of Iveron, who came in 1655 to Russia to serve as a priest at the metochion of the Iveron Monastery in Moscow, showed a vivid

²²"Letter to M. K. Pavlovsky, September 1, 1850," *Materials for a Biography . . . Volume 2*, p. 315.

²³Ibid. p. 315.

²⁴I. E. Evseyev, "The Manuscript Tradition of the Slavonic Bible," *SPB* 41 (1911) 25.

interest in the history of the country where he served, and even attempted to draw into a system the date on the initial stages of the Russian state. Archimandrite Porfiri Uspenski was lucky to discover one of his manuscripts in Cairo in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was written in Greek so that the widest circles of Orthodox scholars could read it in the Middle East. "In 1668, Archimandrite Dionysios of Iveron collated data from Slavonic books on the origin of the Russians, on their baptism and the Apostle Andrew . . . who preached the word of God there," Father Porfiri wrote. "This volume in Greek I saw in the Sinai Juwani library in Cairo. The title follows and my excerpts from it:

Oleg has taken many cities, begun a great war against Constantinople, and brought great devastation upon the Greeks, under the reign of Leo the Wise and his brother Alexander in 6415 (907), and took tribute from them . . . In the twelfth year of the reign of Leo the Wise, thirty years after the baptism of the Bulgarians, the Gospel and the Epistles were translated into the Slavonic language.²⁵

At present, four copies of this work by Dionysios are known: one of these is that found by Father Porfiri in Cairo, two others were discovered in the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, and the fourth was kept in the Iveron Monastery (No. 4294 in S. Lambros' catalogue).²⁶

²⁵Uspenski, *Athonite Bibliophiles* (Moscow, 1883), p. 12.

²⁶"I got to know," a Russian scholar who visited the Holy Mountain in 1969 wrote, "that in the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, there used to be a manuscript containing "The History of the Russian People," brought up to 1668. Later the unique manuscript, perhaps a compilation using documents unknown to scholars, disappeared without a trace. No one has heard anything about it in the Saint Panteleimon Monastery," A. Agaryshev, "The Invisible Treasury of Athos," *The Literary Gazette* 18 (May 5, 1982) 00.

Dionysios composed his work using material in the Russian Chronicles, which is mentioned in the title:

The History, or the Narrative on the Origin of the Russians, Where Their Princes Came From, and Where and When They Accepted Holy Baptism and Became Christians. And on the Apostle Saint Andrew, How He Came to Russia and Announced the Divine News. Col-lated in a Short Form from the Slavonic Books and Translated into Our Dialect / = the Greek / by the Hum-ble Dionyios, Archimandrite of the Holy Men of the Iveron Monastery on the Holy Mount of Athos, While he was Staying in the Orthodox Reigning City of Moscow in 1668.²⁷

One of the Russian specialists who went to Mount Athos in the late nineteenth century was Khrisanf Mefodievich Loparev (1862-1918), librarian of the Manuscript Division of the St. Petersburg Public Library. An account of him would be of great interest, taking into account the approaching millenium celebrations. He studied at the History and Philo-logy Department of the St. Petersburg University and grad-ually became interested in Byzantology. In the words of his biographer, K. M. Loparev saw Byzantium *vis-à-vis* Russia as a nurse who breastfed the latter in her infancy as a bene-factress who did her a lot of good; and this good was, he writes in one of his works,

the newly-invented alphabet, baptism and the Orthodox Church and Orthodoxy with supreme supervision of the newly-born Church, the sacred possession of liturgy,

²⁷Quoted in I. N. Lebedeva, *Later Greek Chronicles and Their Russian and Oriental Translations. The Palestinian Collection No. 18* (Leningrad, 1968) p. 82. This work gives a detailed analysis of the activities of Dio-nysios the Hagiorite in Russia. Cf. also idem, "Copies of the Pseudo-Dionysios Chronicle in Soviet Collections," *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 26 (1965) 100-01.

patristic and canonical literature, the education of an uncouth people in the spirit of faith and the respect of princely power, the fostering of trade and commercial relations. Byzantium took it into her hands and brought it up to its own ideas, making it a pious Christian.²⁸

This excerpt comes from the work by K. M. Loparev entitled *The Greeks and the Rus — A List of a Full Collection of Historical, Literary, and Archaeological Data to Evaluate the Character of Russo-Byzantine Relations in Chronological Order from Ancient Times until 1453*. In this work published in 1898, K. M. Loparev noted that he came to think about this book when still a student, and it was then that he gathered the audacity to apply his young forces to the job that is grandiose. He saw things in an awesome perspective:

To settle the question of principle, what benefit Byzantium got from Russia and Russia from Byzantium, some sort of a marble book is prepared to submit to the judgment of history all documents of justification from both sides. Moreover, witnesses have been called from the West, the coasts of Norway, from the East, from Syria, Armenia, Georgia . . . information has been gathered on the material evidence of relations between states — in a word, no testimony should be left unattended to. It should be all full and all-embracing, for this is demanded both by the importance of the question and our moral duty . . . for the code that is to be formed is a national, state affair.²⁹

But this vision was brought down, as he got more familiar with the subject and the vastness of the project that could have been undertaken only by a group of scholars, to a more narrow field. Loparev settled on publishing original documents with the Russian translation. Throughout his life, he

²⁸Quoted in V. Sresnevsky, "K. M. Loparev (†1918). Recollections of His Life and Work," *The Russian Historical Journal* 5 (1918) 329.

²⁹Ibid. pp. 329-30.

remained engaged in collecting historical and archaeological material. In 1911 he began publishing in *Vizantiiski Vremennik* the work that was to become his Master's thesis. The book, entitled *Byzantine Lives of Saints of the Eighth Centuries*, submitted to the Yuriev (now Tartu, earlier Derpt) University, earned him the scholarly degree. "It is characteristic," his biographer said, "that when coming to a foreign country, an unknown city — and he visited Constantinople, Mount Athos, and Italy, sent there to study manuscripts by the Academy of Sciences or by the Orthodox Palestinian Society — Loparev would not like to see anything except for the manuscript or the monument he was commissioned to study."³⁰

This could also be seen from the notes by K. M. Loparev himself, describing, for instance, his stay on Athos in the Karakala Monastery. "I have had grateful memories of that," Loparev noted.

Father Paisi, the Bulgarian, was very hospitable, and the librarian Father Germanos was ready to allow me to study in the monastic cell I occupied all the manuscripts I needed. I read through and made significant excerpts from the Life of Saint Philarete the Merciful, copied the Sermon on the Bringing of the Robe of the Mother of God from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and a later article on the Avar invasion in the seventh century, and, finally, collated Theodore's sermon on the same subject. Of especial historic importance was the Life of Saint Cyril, which was very lengthy, the copying of which would demand at least a month.³¹

Athonite manuscripts contain data not only on the history of the conversion of Kievan Rus to Christianity, but also on the liturgical practice of the Ancient Russian Church. In this respect, the research carried out by Archimandrite Porfiri

³⁰Ibid. p. 339.

³¹K. M. Loparev, "A Short Report on the Journey to Athos in the Summer of 1896," *Communications of the Orthodox Palestinian Society* (February 1897) 29.

Uspensky in the Athonite Esphigmenou is significant. "In this book depository of the Monastery of Esphigmenou, there is a Greek Tetraevangelion copied on parchment in 1311," Father Porfiri wrote.

In its first pages, the known sequence of Epistle readings is indicated for the whole year, and at the end, the corresponding sequence of Gospel readings. There at the beginning, it is also said that such an order and sequence of readings is that adopted in the catholic and apostolic Church of the Great City of God, Antioch. So that is where the daily readings of the New Testament have been first suggested, selected, and appointed, in Antioch! The Greeks composed from these a special Epistle book of the selected ordinary readings and a special Gospel book of the selected ordinary readings. The Slavs have marked the readings in the text and the margins of the four Gospels, while at the end, they put their list according to the Antiochean regulations.³²

Another suggestion advanced by Father Porfiri after studying the Esphigmenou manuscripts has to do with the peculiarities of the Liturgy as celebrated in the Russian Orthodox Church. In his notes, Father Porfiri says the following on the subject:

In Athos, in the Monastery of Esphigmenou, I succeeded in finding a manuscript in which the office of the Liturgy is set forth by Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople: the invocation of the Holy Spirit is given there with our additions.³³ So could not perhaps this part of the office have been carried over to Russia from Constantinople as well? Could it perhaps have been retained by only the Russian Church, as it has retained the Feast of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God, while other Orthodox Churches kept

³²Uspenski, "The Book of My Life, Volume 7," *SPB*, 51 (1901) 195-96.

³³Meaning the prayer read thrice: "O Lord who at the third hour did send down upon your Apostles your Holy Spirit . . ."

the ancient office of the Liturgy and had no such feast?³⁴

Another important find that permitted Father Porfiri to make significant discoveries in the field of Byzantine hymnography was the manuscript he came across in the Esphigmenou library, the so-called "Esphigmenou Sticherarion," the study to which he paid considerable attention.³⁵ Continuing the review of the works by Father Porfiri in Byzantine hymnography, mention should be made of the practical things he did when he came back home and settled in Kiev as the bishop of Chigirin. Bishop Porfiri wrote the following on his intentions concerning church singing, which he could not implement for a considerable time:

It has cost me an immense effort to gather correct information on the sticherarion poets and their poetry, as well as the authors of other liturgical pieces. I worked as a prospector looking for precious stones, but the more I toiled, the more I wanted to learn to sing according to the intricate Greek notation, in order to transpose that into the Italian or usual ecclesiastical notation. But my hard work in the book repositories and archives of Oriental monasteries diverted me from the study of Greek singing, so that it was for no purpose that I carried around with me the ruled sheets for the notes.³⁶

It is to a high degree symbolic that bibliographic investigations subsequently helped him back to the theme, but at a higher scholarly level. "As the time of my scholarly pursuits in the East was drawing to the desired end (in 1861)," Father Porfiri goes on:

³⁴Quoted in P. Syrku, "A Description of the Papers of Bishop Porfiri Uspenski Given to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in His Testament" (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 75.

³⁵"The Sticherarion Poets. An Excerpt from the Account of the Journey to Athos by Bishop Porfiri Uspenski in 1846," *TKDA* 2 (1878) 45.

³⁶Uspenski, *The First Journey to the Athonite Sketes and Monasteries*, Part 2, Appendix to Section 2 of Part 2 (Moscow, 1881), p. 83.

fortune suddenly turned in my favor; as the saying goes, when there is the will, there is a way: on the library shelf of the Sinai Juwani Monastery in Cairo, thrust before my eyes were manuscripts for church singers, having the same contents, and where the Greek melodies had been transposed into the accepted, or usual, ecclesiastical notation . . . It was the purely Greek church music I heard many times in Greek churches. This lucky find was forthwith purchased by me. Scrutinizing it, I could not find there any inscription to announce either the time or the place of its origin, but considering it looked rather new, and seeing the shape of its European notes, I guessed that the transposition was done late in the last (= eighteenth) century in the God-protected city of Kiev, where there was the Monastery of Saint Catherine belonging to that of Mount Sinai. It looks probable that Priestmonk Constantine, who made his studies at the time at the Kiev Theological Academy and later became Archbishop of Sinai and Ecumenical Patriarch, made the transposition in question at the request of the Academy instructors. But anyway, Greek music was no longer a mystery for me.³⁷

But Bishop Porfiri did not limit himself to purely academic study of the manuscripts he found. He understood well the importance of an eventual revival of the chants and melodies that were sung in the ancient Kievan churches only a few decades after the baptism of Rus. It is this that moved him to restore ancient ecclesiastical chants in the capital of the Russian state. "Now we, too, know how to sing the Greek way, and would well understand what is 'the complete ochtoechon,' and which 'threefold sweet singing and the most beauteous *demestvennoe* singing' was brought to Kiev under Grand-duke Yaroslav Vladimirovich in 1051," Bishop Porfiri wrote.

"The complete ochtoechon" is singing all that is sung in church, to eight tones; the "threefold sweet singing"

³⁷Ibid.

refers to the composition of melodies corresponding to the three constituents or potentialities in our soul: mind, heart, and will; the “*demestvennoe* singing” is that of the domestic, or the chief singer with the best voice, accompanied by that of the numerous choir holding the same note. It is remarkable that I should have restored in Kiev, 814 years since 1051, the singing that was introduced under Yaroslav by the Greek singers coming here from Constantinople.³⁸

Since the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the search for the manuscript heritage of the Holy Mountain grew in intensity, as a result of which numerous monuments of early literature discovered on Athos acquired world fame. But much has still to be done, and especially in bringing to light all aspects of the age-long spiritual ties between Athos and the Russian Orthodox Church. And to move successfully along this way we must know everything that has been already done by our predecessors.

In bringing to the close the review of the research done in Athonite libraries by Russian scholars, the hope is expressed that in the future, our specialists could again visit Athos and other ancient Orthodox monasteries in order to continue the studies that were broken off several decades ago. At present, as the Russian Orthodox Church stands on the threshold of the celebrations marking the millenium of the baptism of Russia, the words of Bishop Porfiri Uspenski retain their topicality: “The more one gets to know the East, the more curiosity is whetted, and the greater the regret that brief time does not let the traveller read all the manuscripts, the deeper the conviction that the best history of the whole Orthodox Church, the Russian included, could be written only when all the depositories of books in the East have been studied.”³⁹

³⁸Ibid. p. 84.

³⁹“Materials for a Biography,” 2, p. 310.

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Reviews

The Byzantine Amomos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. By Diane H. Touliatos-Banker. *Analecta Vlatadon*, vol. 46. Ed. Panayotis C. Christou. Thessalonike, Greece: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1984 (released 1985). 284 pp.

Even a cursory examination of the Psalter reveals the uniqueness of Psalm 118 (119) as the longest of the 150 (151) psalms.¹ Its 176 verses are divided into twenty-two strophes, originally linked by a Hebrew alphabetic acrostic. Because the chanted performance of this psalm had occupied such a prominent place in certain Greek offices and other services at the end of the Byzantine Empire, Diane Touliatos-Banker, a member of the music faculty at the University of Missouri — St. Louis and one of the leading scholars in the field of Byzantine chant, has published an illuminating study of its historical transmission, textual variants, and musical structure. Her research on the chanted repertoires for Psalm 118 offers valuable insights into melodic features and performance practices in late Byzantine chant and substantially broadens our perspective on this important area of medieval music.

Professor Touliatos-Banker prefaces her comprehensive purview of chants for Psalm 118, known as the Amomos

¹This psalm is numbered 118 in the Greek (Septuagint) and Latin (Vulgate) Psalters and 119 in the Hebrew (Masoretic) and English (King James) Psalters.

Psalm,² with chapters that discuss the origins and historical development of the Hebrew Psalter, in general, and the poetic structure and content of Psalm 118, in particular. The Amomos Psalm was traditionally sung in the Byzantine church for the morning office (*Orthros*); for three kinds of funeral services (*Nekrosimoi Akolouthiai*) for laymen (*kosmike*), monks (*monachike*), and Jesus Christ and the Virgin (*Theotokos*); for the assuming of monastic habits; and for the midnight office (*Mesonyktikon*).

The principal musical sources for this study are thirty-five *Akolouthiai* (*Anthologiai*) manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most of which are preserved in the National Library in Athens and in monastic libraries on Mount Athos. These *Akolouthiai*, whose oldest dated example was copied in 1336, contain the earliest chants for the Amomos Psalm. A special feature is their inclusion of the elaborately melismatic repertoires of so-called kalophonic chants in addition to simpler syllabic and less prolix melismatic settings. In addition, Amomos repertoires in later *Akolouthiai* from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries were also studied and their contents compared to chants in the earlier sources. Although the extensive repertoires of Western chants are largely anonymous, Byzantine *Akolouthiai* contain attributions of individual chants to their respective composers; among these are Ioannes Koukouzeles, Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas the Lampadarios, and Manouel Chrysaphes. In four appendices, which cover more than fifty pages, the author has indicated the number of settings for each Amomos verse transmitted with music in the *Akolouthiai* and the name of the composer cited for each setting.

Professor Touliatos-Banker's research has shown that music for the Amomos Psalm for the special morning office (*Asmatikos Orthros*) at the Church of Hagia Sophia in

²In the Byzantine rite Psalm 118 is known as the Amomos Psalm, a designation it receives from the second word in its first verse: "Μακάριοι ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ . . ." ("Blessed are the undefiled in the way . . .").

Constantinople and Thessalonike was performed only on Sundays, when it was substituted for the antiphons of the Distributed Psalter on weekdays. Only two sources are known that transmit the music for the Amomos Psalm for this kind of cathedral service: Athens MS 2061 (1391-1425) and Athens MS 2062 (not later than 1385). Because a greater number of verses are contained in Athens MS 2061, the author has focused her musical analysis of the Amomos Psalm on the first stasis (division) of the psalm for this cathedral rite and on multiple settings of verses 1a, 12, 14, 38, 50, 51, 62, and a final Allelouia. Here Professor Touliatos-Banker has identified two families of melodies in two different modes: one group in the second plagal mode and a second group, which shows more highly ornamented melodies, in the fourth plagal mode. The pronounced difference in musical style raises the question of when, why, or where the two families were used. The choice between the simpler or the more elaborate version, the author suggests, may have depended upon the vocal skill of the singers available, the solemnity of the feast, or a difference in musical practice between Constantinople and Thessalonike. The two styles do not necessarily represent an earlier and simpler style and a later and more elaborate development.

Professor Touliatos-Banker's study of these two families of cathedral chants has also shown that portions of the chant melodies may move from one psalm verse to another and undergo alteration in the process. She further indicates that this musical migration may reflect the antiphonal distribution of the Amomos Psalm between the two choirs in Hagia Sophia, and in two tables she has recorded the migratory procedures that affect the melodies and the choral practice of dividing the verses between the two choirs. Although this cathedral repertory is mostly anonymous, a third table contains the names of five Byzantine composers identified in the two sources. Fewer than twenty-five of the 110 verse settings, however, are attributed to specific composers, and most of these attributions occur in the psalm's second stasis.

The heart of this study is the four chapters that examine Amomos chants for the weekday office of Mesonyktikon, for monastic Orthros on Saturdays and Sundays, for the service of monks' Taking of the Schemata (Greater and Lesser Habits), and especially for the three orders of services for the dead (Nekrosimoi Akolouthiai). The Amomos Psalm in these funeral services consists of repertories for laymen, monks, and the Theotokos. Unlike music for the Amomos Psalm in the cathedral rite, these monastic repertories are much larger and transmit chants with attributions to a number of Byzantine composers active during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A feature of the Amomos repertory for the funeral of laymen in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources is the presence of several different settings for a single psalm verse. Later sources, as a rule, offer only one setting of a psalm verse, and settings of verses from the Amomos Psalm are eventually limited to music by one composer only.

In her detailed examination of monophonic structures in these three repertories, Professor Touliatos-Banker has transcribed and published a significant number of Amomos verses from Akolouthia manuscripts. Because chants for the Amomos Psalm in the funeral service for monks appear only in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, she submits that this repertory soon disappeared from use after the fifteenth century. Her examination of chants from the first stasis of the psalm in this service also reveals that its music is "less varied and less complex" than the Amomos for the funeral service of laymen. Furthermore, in the former, fewer verses receive musical settings, and there are not so many musical settings for each verse. A distinctive feature of the Amomos Psalm for monks, however, is its division in fourteenth-century manuscripts into both two and three staseis. The author concludes that a three-staseis division probably represents an earlier tradition that gave way during the fifteenth century to the present division of the Amomos Psalm into two staseis.

The third funeral repertory for the Amomos Psalm is sung

for "the divine burial of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the Dormition of the most pure Mother, for the beheading of the venerable Forerunner, for the holy Apostles, bishops, martyrs, and the righteous."³ Professor Touliatos-Banker points out that this much more limited Amomos repertory, which preserves only a few settings of the verses of the psalm itself, is unique in its presentation of newly "added verses that alternate in various ways with the verses of the psalm" itself and that comment on the nature of the service. Moreover, Amomos verses for the Theotokos contain no Allelouia refrains at the ends of verses, and the music of this Amomos repertory, the author notes, is the same or similar to Amomos settings in two staseis for the monks' service.

In her study of the several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century repertories for the Amomos Psalm, Diane Touliatos-Banker has convincingly demonstrated the importance of this psalm and its music in several kinds of services during the final centuries of the Byzantine Empire. Her investigation has also revealed a crescendo of creativity in the musical elaboration of the Amomos Psalm, which culminated in the fifteenth century, a period when Byzantine composers produced an extraordinary number of new settings. Thenceforth, the number of new verse settings gradually declined, and the musical importance of the Amomos Psalm itself in Greek services began to wane. Professor Touliatos-Banker's welcome addition to *Analecta Vlatadon* is a major new study that is distinguished by exemplary scholarship and a fine control of sources. Her monograph attests to the importance of the Amomos Psalm in Byzantine chant of the late Middle Ages and significantly increases our understanding of developments in Byzantine music at the end of the empire.

³Vatopedi MS 1528, fol. 62^r Quoted in Touliatos-Banker, *The Byzantine Amomos Chant*, p. 200.

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The Church Fathers: Yesterday and Today

JOHN CHRYSAVGIS

WITHIN SEVERAL DECADES AFTER THE CRUCIFIXION AND resurrection of our Lord, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament were compiled and constituted the Canon of the New Testament that also became the source of an entire literary form which served the diverse needs of the early Christian community — catechetical, didactic, apologetic, dogmatic, liturgical, and ethical. It is precisely this literature — in its unending history until today — that the field of patristics studies and interprets. In the past, patristics (or patrology) was not a subject studied independently at universities, and, in fact, was not always offered at theological schools. It was more the “spiritual hobby” of persons “inclined” towards the fathers. Even in the Middle Ages when the leading thinkers were mostly theologians, and when to occupy a chair of theology in one of the eminent universities was to reach the culminating point of an academic career, the subject of patristics was unheard of. Today, however, it has unfortunately become a subject of almost purely historical or philological interest. Without a burning desire for the faith taught by the apostles and the fathers, the study of the church fathers becomes a dry examination of ancient texts.

In the Orthodox world, where the fathers have been considered the guardians and inspirers of the Christian faith through the centuries, it is the mind or spirit of the fathers

that takes precedence over the "letter" found in manuscripts. Unfortunately, in the East the danger threatening the study of patristics is different. Among the Orthodox, there is a tendency towards an emotional admiration of the fathers by some, a fanatical or apologetic use of the fathers by others, and a vague and moralistic reference to the fathers by yet others. All *three* of the above mentioned approaches are misguided. None follow the mind of the fathers.

There is today a remarkable and significant *turn towards* the fathers and what they stood for. In recent decades in the West, an abundance of patristic critical editions, publications, translations, and bibliographies have been written. In the Orthodox world and especially in Greece, there has been a parallel attempt to publish the writings of the fathers, to teach and live in the way they did — and so there is now a blossoming of monasticism, a revival of the Liturgy and the concept of the parish, as well as the publication of a number of important books. Whether there is also an attempt to follow the *mind* of the fathers is another question. The change, nevertheless, is most welcome and surely positive. Ignorance of the fathers has always created difficult situations within the Church. The fact that in the past Western theologians overlooked such fathers as Basil the Great, Maximos the Confessor, or Gregory Palamas, while theologians in the East ignored Augustine of Hippo, must surely have contributed to the estrangement between the two.

Patristics, therefore, studies and instructs the church fathers. In primitive Christianity, the fathers were the spiritual guides or masters, the teachers, those holding a high office in the community of those "born again" (cf. Jn 3.3ff.). The disciples of the apostles and fathers are called children: "I do not write . . . to make you ashamed, but to admonish you as my beloved children. For though you have countless guides in Christ, you do not have many fathers. For I became your father in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (1 Cor 4.14-15). Children were also their successors' disciples, and the disciples of their disciples. The martyr and deacon Papylos,

while being tried by the pagans as a Christian, claims that he has spiritual children in every province and city: "They are my children according to Christ," he exclaims.¹ Origen is more specific as to whom one addresses as fathers: "We call fathers those blessed ones who have progressed in their life, and towards whom we are moving . . ."²

And since, naturally, the local bishops had the responsibility of teaching, it was they who were *par excellence* called "fathers"³ or "papai"⁴ — this latter title was to be restricted to certain places and persons, such as the bishop of Rome and that of Alexandria.

By the fourth century, the title "father" was also given to monastic leaders, because in monasticism the relationship between spiritual father (or abbot) and child is of central significance. Monks and nuns also became "fathers" and "mothers" of lay people who approached them in multitudes, asking for a "word of salvation."

Later, during the times of the great Cappadocians, the term "fathers" was applied to those who, in their writings and through their participation at the Synods, upheld the Orthodox faith, formulating it correctly in dogmas, definitions, canons, and treatises. It is in this sense of the word that Basil the Great stresses that one ought to preserve "that which we have been taught by the holy fathers."⁵ The fathers are precisely those who maintain the integrity of the apostolic faith, handing it down through the generations of still other fathers to the present day. The fathers are those who in every age call down the Holy Spirit or, rather, who witness to the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the body of the Son of God, the Church. This is why all the grandeur and honor attributed to these fathers is contained in the hymn

¹*Martyrion of Karpos* 32.

²In Eusebios, *Historia Ecclesiae* 6.14.9.

³Cf. *Martyrion of Polycarp* 12.2.

⁴Cf. Origen, *Ad Hercl.*

⁵*Epistle* 140.2.

dedicated to them and chanted in the Church twice yearly:

When the rank of the holy fathers flocked from the ends of the inhabited world, they believed in one substance and one nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, delivering plainly to the Church the mystery of discoursing in theology. Wherefore, in that we laud them in faith, we beatify them, saying: What a divine army, you God-inspired soldiers of the camp of the Lord, you most brilliant luminaries in the supersensuous firmament, you impregnable towers of the mystical Zion, you scented flowers of paradise, the golden lights of the Word, the price and delight of the whole universe, intercede ceaselessly for our souls.⁶

It was in adherence to the faith of these people that the opening phrase of the Great Synods was established: "Following the holy fathers . . ." The entire history of the Eastern Orthodox Church is marked by this deep sense of continuity with the past. In twentieth-century Istanbul, the residence of the Greek Orthodox patriarch is still called "Rum Patrikhane" (the "Roman Patriarchate"), while the Greeks of the "Polis" continue to call themselves "Romioi" or "Romaioi" (Romans). Behind this somewhat unexpected way of speaking, there lies an historical fact of great significance: in the West, the Roman Empire collapsed under the pressure of barbarian invasions in the fifth century, and the medieval society that slowly emerged from the ruins — while having had many links to the past — was fundamentally different from that which had gone before. It is, however, incorrect to see at this point the end of the Roman Empire. In the East there was no sudden break. The Roman Empire survived in the East for a thousand years longer than in the West.

⁶Chanted on the seventh Sunday after Easter to commemorate the fathers of the First Ecumenical Synod and on the 11th of October (or the first Sunday that follows) in honor of the fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod.

Despite the profound economic, political, and social changes which it underwent — above all, in the seventh (with the Persian invasion) and eleventh (with the schism and the crusades) centuries, and despite its progressive decline in size and in material resources, it remained (at least right up to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453) essentially the same empire as that over which Augustus had ruled at the time of Christ's birth. And, spiritually, one can say that the East has maintained the same doctrine and theology even until today. Anyone who studies Byzantine history or theology must constantly keep this fact in mind. Historians distinguish, for the sake of convenience, between the "Byzantine" and the "Roman" Empire, but there is no clear line of demarcation between the two. The one is a continuation of the other.

This element of continuity with the past is apparent in all branches of Byzantine civilization: in literature and philosophy, in political thought and law, and not least in theology. The Byzantines, the Easterners, knew no "Middle Ages" in the Western sense: their approach to theology remained basically patristic, and they continued to philosophize and theologize in much the same fashion as did the early church fathers. Categories of thought in the medieval West were radically altered from the twelfth century onwards by the great synthesis of philosophy and theology brought about by what we now know as "scholasticism." In the East, in Byzantium, by contrast, there was nothing comparable to this scholastic revolution and, later, Reformation. A Western Christian around the fourteenth century might read and honor the writings of the ancient Church, but the words of the fathers came to him as a distant voice from the past: between him and them, there was a profound cultural separation. Yet for an Eastern Christian around this time — the time of Gregory Palamas, Philotheos Kokkinos, Nicholas Kabasilas, and the hesychasts — the fathers were members of the same world; they were regarded and honored as spiritual fathers and teachers and, in a vital sense, as contemporaries. The "Age of the Fathers" in Eastern Christendom does *not* come to a

close with the Synod of Chalcedon in the fifth century, nor yet with the meeting of the Seventh (sometimes considered as the last) Ecumenical Synod in the eighth century, but extends without interruption throughout the years of controversy leading to the schism in the eleventh century, throughout the years of turmoil leading to the fall of Constantinople, through the years of Western influence on the Eastern civilization from the seventeenth century onwards, to this very day when Orthodoxy still remains basically patristic in outlook.

The patristic approach to Christian doctrine is perhaps best summed up in the one word "paradosis," tradition — or, more literally, "that which is handed down." The Eastern Christian saw himself as the heir to a rich inheritance from the past, which it was his duty and privilege to transmit unimpaired to future generations. This attitude of mind is clearly evident in the dogmatic decree of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod (Nicaea 787): "We take away nothing and we add nothing," the assembled bishops stated, "but we preserve without diminution all that pertains to the Catholic Church. . . . We keep without change or innovation all the ecclesiastical traditions that have been handed down to us, whether written or unwritten." The same reverence for tradition is displayed by the leading theologian of the eighth century, John of Damascus (d.c. 749); by the key monastic figure of the next century, Theodore the Studite (d. 826); by Symeon the New Theologian in the eleventh century; by Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth; and even at the Council of Florence (1439) by Mark of Ephesos. The latter, while opposing the Western addition of the "filioque" to the Nicene Creed or "symbol of faith," observes: "This symbol, this noble heritage of our fathers, we demanded back from you. Restore it then as you received it. It may not be enlarged; it may not be diminished. It has been closed and sealed, and such as dare to innovate in its regard are cast out, and those who fashion another in its stead are laid under penalty."⁷

⁷Cf. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 163.

These striking words of Saint Mark of Ephesos underline the fact that reverence for tradition may easily degenerate into stagnation and formalism. Unfortunately, this tended to be the case with certain later Byzantine writers who were mere compilers, protagonists of a narrow theology of repetition which does no more than reiterate the accepted formulae of the past. Under such conditions, the appeal to the fathers becomes simply an external appeal to authorities and "proof texts." But it should not be — as sometimes is — assumed that the whole of Greek theology after John of Damascus was of this type. Alongside the "school of repetition" there were also religious thinkers, fathers of genuine originality — men such as Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas — living saints, contemporary fathers who understood tradition in dynamic terms, as an immediate awareness of the presence of the Holy Spirit, who spoke formerly to the prophets, apostles, and fathers, and who today speaks in just the same way to us. The continuity of the fathers, at its best, was always a developing and creative continuity, in which conservation was mixed with change.

The history of Greek patristic theology is dominated by two main developments: (a) on the negative side, by a growing estrangement between the Greek East and the Latin West. This gives birth to a vast body of polemical writing, often superficial and unattractive, perhaps, aggressive in tone, but raising issues of genuine principle; and (b) on the positive side, by a greatly deepened understanding of mystical theology. What does a person experience at the higher levels of inner prayer? How far can one attain deification and union with God even in this present life? What, in other words, are the ultimate potentialities of man's nature, and what is implied in the fulness of his salvation?

Such is the general pattern of doctrinal development in the Christian East. However, one must never distinguish certain aspects in isolation from the rest. For instance, it is often wrongly assumed tacitly that all important doctrinal discussions came to an abrupt end towards the middle of the fifth

century with the Synod of Chalcedon. But those who stop short at 451 have heard less than half the story. Chalcedon, as indeed other councils, must be seen not as a final conclusion but as stage in a far more extended dynamic process. Thus, one is mistaken in dismissing the iconoclast controversy as an argument simply about the nature of Christian art, in or relegating the phenomenon of mystical theology to the sphere of devotion or religious psychology.

With such an understanding of the connection between life, theology, and mysticism, the mystical tradition of the later patristic period can be seen as an extension and completion of earlier discussions about the Trinity and the Incarnation. "God became man that we might become God," said Athanasios.⁸ The doctrinal controversies from the fourth to the eighth centuries concentrated more especially on the first half of this sentence ("God became man"). Patristic thought in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries worked out the full implications of the second half ("that we might become God"). There is thus an integral link between the fathers in the earlier and in the later period: the two groups complement each other, and throughout the whole course of Christian doctrine in the East from the fourth century until today an essential continuity may be discerned.

Yet how does one approach the fathers? How does one read the text of a fourth- or fifth-century writer and make it one's own, appropriating it in the context of the Church in the twentieth century?

The Kingdom of God is not a mechanical collection of scriptural or patristic quotations outside our being and our lives. The Kingdom of God is within us, like a dynamic leaven which fundamentally changes man's whole life, his spirit, and his body. What is required in patristic study, in order to remain faithful to the fathers' spirit of freedom and worthy of their spiritual nobility and freshness, is

⁸*The Incarnation* 5.4.

to approach their holy texts with the fear in which we approach and venerate their holy relics and holy icons. This liturgical reverence will soon reveal to us that here is another inexpressible grace. The whole atmosphere is different. There are certain vital passages in the patristic texts which, we feel, demand of us, and work within us, an unaccustomed change. These we must make part of our being and our lives, as truths and as standpoints, to leaven the whole. And, at the same time, we must put our whole self into studying the fathers, waiting and marking time. This marriage, this baptism into patristic study brings what we need, which is not an additional load of patristic references and the memorizing of other people's opinions, but the acquisition of a new clear-sighted sense which enables man to see things differently and rightly. If we limit ourselves to learning passages by heart and classifying them mechanically — and teach men likewise — then we fall into a basic error which simply makes us fail to teach and make known the patristic way of life and philosophy. For what is altogether distinctive about the patristic creation is that it is conceived and held together, it is formed and grows, as a result of the grace and power of the freedom of the Spirit.

What the fathers require and give is the change which comes from the Spirit. If we want to approach them outside this reality, they will remain for us incomprehensible as writers and scorned as persons.

Communication of the patristic word, the word of the holy fathers, is not a matter of applying their sayings to this or that topic with the help of a concordance. It is a process whereby nourishment is taken up by living organisms, assimilated by them and turned into blood, life, and strength. And, subsequently, it means passing on the joy and proclaiming this miracle thorough the very fact of being brought to life, an experience we apprehend in a way

that defies doubt or discussion. Thus the living patristic word is not conveyed mechanically, nor preserved archaeologically, nor approached through excursions into history. It is conveyed whole, full of life, as it passes from generation to generation through living organisms, altering them, creating "fathers" who make it their personal word, a new possession, a miracle, a wealth which increases as it is given away . . . In this state one does not talk about life, one gives it. One feeds the hungry and gives drink to the thirsty. By contrast, scholastic theology and intellectual constructions do not resemble the Body of the Lord, the true food, nor his Blood, the true drink; rather they are like a stone one finds in one's food. This is how indigestible and inhumanly hard the mass of scholasticism seems to the taste in the mouth of one accustomed to the liturgy of the Church, and it is rejected as something foreign and unacceptable.

Our words are often flabby and weak. For the word to be passed on and to give life, it has to be made flesh. When, alone with your word, you give your flesh and blood to others, only then do your words mean something . . .

Fortunate is the man who is broken in pieces and offered to others, who is poured out and given to others to drink . . . By grace he has become Christ, and so his life gives food and drink to his brother. That is to say, he nourishes the other's very existence and makes it grow.⁹

⁹Archimandrite Vasileios, *Hymn of Entry* (Crestwood, NY, 1984), pp. 34-36.

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The Conversion of Russia to Christianity in the Light of Greek Missionary Activity Among the Slavs

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

“WHAT IS THIS? WHAT IS THIS DISTRESSING AND HEAVY catastrophe and abomination? Why has this dreadful thunderbolt fallen on us out of the farthest north? What clouds compacted of affliction and condemnation have violently collided to force out this irresistible lightning upon us? Why has this thick, sudden hailstorm of barbarians burst forth, . . . who . . . miserably grind up men’s very bodies, and bitterly destroy the whole nation? . . . This people is fierce and has no mercy, its voice is as the roaring sea . . . we have beheld their massed aspect and our hands have waxed feeble; anguish has seized us. . . .”¹

This is how the great intellectual and Patriarch Photios started the first of two homilies which he delivered on the occasion of a Russian attack on Constantinople. It was on June 18, 860, when more than 200 vessels originating from the remote north appeared in the Sea of Marmara, landing on the shores destroying and plundering villages, towns and islands, spreading fear and consternation to the inhabitants of the capital and vicinity which had not been attacked since

¹ Photios, *Homiliai*, no. 3, ed. B. Laourdas *Φωτίου Ὁμιλίας* (Thessalonike, 1959), 29; English translation by Cyril Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 82-84.

the Arabic invasion of 717.

In his second homily, Photios described the Russians as "a nation dwelling somewhere far from our country, barbarous, nomadic, armed with arrogance, unwatched, unchallenged, leaderless" which "like a wave of the sea flooded over our frontiers, and as a wild boar has devoured the inhabitants of the land like grass, or straw, or a crop . . . sparing nothing from man to beast . . . but boldly thrusting their sword through persons of every age and sex. . . ." Photios speaks of "the inhumanity of the barbarous tribe, the harshness of its manners and the savagery of its character." Nevertheless it was this barbarous nation that was tamed, civilized, and later praised by the same Patriarch. It was because of its expedition against Constantinople that the Russian nation "became famous and has risen to a splendid height and immense wealth" Photios adds.²

But is Photios' description a rhetorical hyperbole or a realistic appraisal of the new nation? It is both. Photios refined with rhetorical schemes and harsh epithets the speeches he had delivered in 860 but his information about the nature of the Russian attack on Constantinople is confirmed by several other sources such as Niketas the Paphlagonian, Theophanes Continuatus, George Kedrenos, Ioannes Zonaras, and Leo Grammatikos.³ Whatever the nature of the Russian attack might have been, the fact is that it was the onslaught on Constantinople which placed the Russians on the historical stage. Furthermore, it was this major event which opened up the way in the relations between Russians and Greeks, and the Christianization of Russia. For soon after their assault, the Russians made overtures to Constantinople for a mission.

² Ibid. no. 4.

³ Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome Historion*, 16.5, 1-2; Niketas the Paphlagonian, "Vita Ignatii," PG 105.516-17, 632. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 196. George Kedrenos, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 2.173; Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), pp. 240-41. See also Laourdas's introduction to Photios's homilies, *Φωτίου Ὁμιλία*, pp. 38-39.

Even though we associate the Christianization of the Russian state with the conversion of Vladimir in 988, the first Russian attack on Constantinople in 860 and the missionary work of the Greek Church during the patriarchal tenure of Patriarch Photios should be our starting point. Photios indicates that some Russians became converts to Orthodox Christianity during his own time. In an encyclical to the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria written in 867, Photios writes that the Rus "who raised hands against our state" now "confess the pure religion of the Christians." He adds that a bishop had been sent to the Russians from Constantinople.⁴

Theophanes Continuatus relates that soon after the Russian attack on Constantinople in 860, Russian ambassadors or delegates to Constantinople received baptism⁵ and that a few years later the Emperor Basil I (867-886) persuaded many Russians "to receive salutary baptism." While this information is vague, we know that in 874 the Russians accepted an archbishop from Constantinople ordained by Patriarch Ignatios.⁶ Whether this archbishop was sent there to organize an existing church or to instruct the Russo-Varangian princes Askold and Dir and baptize them we do not know. It is certain, however, that in 882 Askold and Dir were killed by Oleg, who captured Kiev, made it his capital, and introduced the Kievan period of Russian history. The fact that both Askold and Dir were honored by the Russians as martyrs indicates that they died as Christian martyrs. Over the tomb of Askold they built a church dedicated to Saint Nicholas and Dir's tomb was behind Saint Irene's church.⁷

⁴ Photios, *Epistles*, no. 4, ed. I. N. Valettas, *Φωτίου . . . Ἐπιστολαί* (London, 1864), p. 178; Zonaras, *Epitome*, 16.10, 27-28.

⁵ Theophanes Continuatus, *Historia*, p. 196.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 342-43; cf. V. I. Feidas, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ρωσίας* 3rd ed. (Athens, 1988), p. 15.

⁷ Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans. and eds. *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA, 1953), p. 61; Paul Yozyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada* (Ottawa, 1981), p. 2.

Notwithstanding Oleg's efforts to eradicate Christianity from Kievan Russia it survived the persecution and may have created a sympathetic climate for Christianity as Diocletian's persecution did for fourth-century Christianity. Christianization continued as a result of gradual historical circumstances — diplomatic, political, economic, and religious. Missionaries, traders, and merchants from the Greek colonies in the Cherson and the mouth of the Dnieper remained active among the natives.⁸

Three major events of the tenth century served as milestones leading to the official Christianization of the Kievan state in 988. In 911 under Oleg, "the Grand Prince of Rus'" Russian envoys visited Constantinople to ratify a treaty. During their stay in the capital the Greeks guided them to several places including Hagia Sophia. The *Russian Primary Chronicle*, our most important source, relates that the Greeks showed them "the beauties of the churches, the golden palace, and the riches contained therein. . . . They also instructed the Russes in their faith, and expounded to them the true belief." Upon their return to Kiev, the Russian envoys "recounted how they had made peace and established a covenant between Greece and Rus', confirmed by oaths inviolable for the subjects of both countries." For Russian, Khazarian, Georgian, Armenian, Bulgarian, and all Western European (Latin, Germanic) sources, what we commonly call the Byzantine Empire was simply Greece and its inhabitants Greeks, an important testimony for the ethnology of the Empire.⁹

The second major step in the improvement of relations between Russians and Greeks, leading ultimately to the Christianization of the first, was under the rule of Igor when a treaty between Russians and Greeks was signed in 944. It was

⁸ George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT, 1959), pp. 20-39.

⁹ Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 64-85, 93-119; Norman Golb and Omerjan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca and London, 1982), pp. 62-70, 107-15.

a most important treaty and its provisions are of great historical significance. First of all it reveals that the Russian envoys included Christians and non-Christians. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* mentions by name fifty-one delegates "sent by Igor, Great Prince of Rus', and from each prince and all the people of the land of Rus'." The Russian source adds that the Russian envoys addressed the Greek emperor as follows: "Our great Prince Igor, and his princes and his boyars, and the whole people of Rus have sent us to Romanos, Constantine, and Stephen the mighty Emperors themselves, as well as with their boyars and the entire Greek nation henceforth and forever, as long as the sun shines and the world stands fixed."¹⁰

The key words in this account are Igor, princes, boyars, and especially the whole people of Rus. The fifty-one delegates represent Igor's court but also his princes and all the Russian people. Repeatedly the *Russian Primary Chronicle* reveals that the envoys included Christians and non-Christians. The first took their oaths in the Church of Saint Elias in Kiev, and the latter before the statue of Perun. Saint Elias served either as a cathedral or as a parish church, for "many of the Varangians [in Kiev] were Christians." On other occasions the Russians were expected to "swear according to their faith, and the non-Christians after their customs."¹¹ Christians must have existed in several other cities not far from Kiev, such as Pereyaslavl', Kanev, Vyshgorodo, Lyubech, Chernigov, Novgorod Seversky, all along Dnieper or its tributaries. There were "more than a score of Russian cities in the ninth

¹⁰Cross-Wetzel, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 74. For the significance of the 911 and other tenth-century treatises between Kievan Russia and Byzantium, see Irene Sorlin, "Traites de Byzance avec la Russie au X siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et Soviétique* vol. 2, fasc. 3 and 4 (1961) 313-60, 447-75.

¹¹Cross-Wetzel, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 75, 77-78; For the church of St. Elias and other churches of early Kiev, see Samuel H. Cross, H. V. Morgilevski and K. J. Conant, "The Earliest Medieval Churches of Kiev," *Speculum*, 11 (1936) 477-99, esp. 477-93.

centuries" and Russia was known in Scandinavian sources as Gardariki, a land of towns.¹²

This inference finds support in the *Primary Chronicle's* account which among other things stipulates that "if any inhabitant of the land of Rus' thinks to violate [the treaty of 944] may such as these transgressors as have adopted the Christian faith incur condign punishment from Almighty God in the shape of damnation and destruction forevermore. If any other transgressors be not baptized, may they receive help neither from God nor from Perun. . . ." Apparently the baptized believed in an Almighty God [the Greek Pantocrator] while the pagan believed in a god, or Perun.¹³

The treaty of 944 was followed by the visit of Queen Olga to Constantinople in 957, whose visit there is associated with her baptism. Whether her baptism actually took place in Constantinople or upon her return to Kiev is not of concern to us here.¹⁴ My thesis is that the testimony of Photios, the account concerning the treaty of 911, the provisions of the 944 treaty, the baptism of Queen Olga and several other allusions indicate that evolution rather than revolution characterized the introduction of Christianity to Russia which had been established there long before the reign of Vladimir. Furthermore, in addition to cities with Christian populations, the existence of Christian toponyms indicates that certain places had been used by the Greek missionaries as stepping

¹²M. N. Tikhomirov, *The Towns of Ancient Rus*, 2nd ed., tr. by Y. Sdobnikov (Moscow, 1959), pp. 7-53. Tikhomirov writes that Kievan Russia must have had nearly "300 towns on the eve of the Mongolian invasion."

¹³Cross-Wetzel, *Chronicle*, p. 74.

¹⁴Ibid. 82-84. For the problem of whether or not Olga was baptized in Constantinople, see Dimitri Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium in the Mid-Tenth Century: The Problem of the Baptism of Princess Olga," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 28 (1983) 157-71. In a previous work Obolensky was more certain that Olga, "while on a mission of peace in Constantinople, was baptized by the Byzantine Patriarch . . ." there. *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York, 1971), p. 189. Francis Dvornik, too, accepts that Olga was baptized in Constantinople. See his *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), p. 268.

stones for missionary activity in the interior. Constantine Porphyrogennetos relates that two islands in the Dnieper River carried the names of Saint Gregory and Saint Aitherios.¹⁵ As in the early centuries of the Roman Empire, likewise in the Russian land, Christianity began as an urban religion. Novgorod, Smolensk, Teliutzka, Chrenigov, Busegrad — all along the Dnieper River or tributaries must have been exposed to Christian missionary activity.

From 860 to 988, whether through wars, diplomatic missions, trade treatises, Byzantine imperial propaganda or missionary activity, Russia's isolation broke down and the land opened up to influences from the medieval Greek world. Vladimir's conversion was the climax of Christianity's introduction to Russia, Kiev in particular, whose Christianization had begun with Byzantium's mission to Khazaria.

The mission to the Khazars was conducted a few years before the missionary activity of Cyril and Methodios among the Western and Southern Slavs. The Council of 843 brought the crisis of the iconoclastic controversy to an end and, with men like Photios, a new era was introduced. The international climate in ninth century Europe was ripe for the Greek and the Latin Churches to conduct missionary work in non-Christian Europe, East and West.

Whether for political or religious reasons several established states and developing nations were interested in the faith and practices of Greek Christianity. Muslim, Jewish, and pagan rulers had asked Constantinople for theologians who would explain Christian doctrines, especially those concerning the holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Logos — Christ.

In the middle of the ninth century the Muslim Caliph Mutawakkil sent an embassy to Constantinople asking for a Byzantine delegation to go to the Caliph's court in Samara, near Bagdad, and to hold a theological dialogue with Islamic

¹⁵Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. and trans. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), p. 60.

theologians. A Greek delegation was sent there in 851. It included Photios, who at the time was a layman and university professor, and his disciple Constantine, a twenty-four year old theologian-philosopher. It seems that a similar delegation went to Bagdad in 857/8. It is interesting to note that both religions could hold a theological disputation exploring each other's beliefs and practices¹⁶ long before the ecumenical movement came into being.

A few years later in 863, the Jewish ruler of Khazaria asked the "king" of the "land of Greece" for a theological delegation to visit his court and his people to explain Christianity to them. Both Jewish and Muslim missionaries were active among the Khazars. Many of them along with Bulgarians who lived in the territory near the Bolga River had already embraced Islam. The Jewish communities along the northern borders of the Byzantine Empire were also active in proselytism. It is not certain whether the Khagan of the Khazars was Jewish by birth or by conversion. In any case Khazaria had many converts to Judaism and to Islam.

Patriarch Photios, Emperor Michael, and the Prime Minister Bardas sent Constantine and his brother Methodios, natives of the city of Thessalonike to Khazaria. Constantine in particular was one of Photios' brilliant disciples and his successor at the University of Constantinople. Even though their mission to Khazaria was for more than religious reasons, the two brothers were able to conduct missionary activity and to teach the principles of the Orthodox Christian faith. Theological discussions were held at the court of the Khazar ruler. Among other themes the two brothers analyzed the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, and they compared Orthodox Christian teachings with beliefs of Judaism and Islam. They defended the dogma of the Trinity by quoting passages from the New and the Old Testament which speak of God as Creator, Logos, and Spirit. They defended the Incarnation by asking the Jewish theologians present why

¹⁶Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 285-89.

God could not have appeared in human form when he revealed himself to Moses as a burning bush. They explained and justified the use of icons and compared Christian morality with Jewish and Muslim ethics.

Soon after the disputation some two hundred pagan Khazars requested to be baptized and admitted into the Orthodox Church.¹⁷ The Khagan, who had received the two brothers cordially, announced that he had given permission to those who wished to receive baptism. Whether he allowed this for political reasons or genuine religious toleration we do not know. It is certain however that he wanted to maintain friendly relations with the Greek Empire and it is possible that it was through Khazaria that Christianity was introduced to Russia. According to a widely held view, Kiev was founded by the Khazars if not in the eighth at least during the first half of the ninth century.¹⁸ But Kievan Russia was not a homogeneous state. Even though the East Slavs comprised the largest single ethnic group there, from the very beginning its population was multiracial, multilingual, and multi-religious. In addition to various Baltic, Slavic, and Turkic tribes, there were Christian Greeks in the Kievan state, who along with the Khazar converts made the presence of Christianity there visible.

In any case, the credit for the Byzantine mission to the Khazars belongs to the two brothers and to Photios who was the main force behind that expedition. Francis Dvornik rightly observes that "if Photios had not been elected patriarch, he would probably have been the man whom the government would have chosen to represent Christian theological scholar-

¹⁷Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents*, pp. 108-11; Clement of Ochrida, "Life of Constantine-Kyrillos," Ch. 11, trans. I. E. Anastasiou, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* vol. 12 (Thessalonike, 1967); Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁸J. Brutzkus, "The Khazar Origin of Ancient Kiev," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 22 (1944) 108-24. Also Vernadsky, 27-34; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 51-53; Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents*, pp. 53-59.

ship in Khazaria.”¹⁹ By the first quarter of the tenth century, a few years before Kiev’s conquest by Prince Igor of the Rus, there must have been many Christians in Khazaria. An anonymous Khazarian Jew writing to Hasdai ibn Shaprut of Spanish Cordova relates that the Khazarian Kagan Joseph in retaliation for the forced conversion of Jews under the Byzantine Emperor Romanos Lecapenos in 930, “did away with many Christians.”²⁰

Much more important and fruitful was Byzantium’s concern with the Christianization of the Western and Southern Slavs. A period of intensive missionary activity among several Slavic tribes began during Photios’ patriarchal tenure. But once again political necessities and religious considerations were interrelated. Church and State, religion and culture were not divided. The origins of the Byzantine missions to the Western Slavs must be traced to the political developments in the West.

In the year 856 the king of the Eastern Frankish Empire Louis Germanikos was succeeded to the throne by his oldest son Charlemagne, who extended his kingdom over Bavaria. He was ambitious and his policies included not only the creation of a great Empire but also the destruction of the Moravian state which occupied the territory between Bavaria and Bulgaria. In order to achieve his goal, the Frankish king negotiated an alliance with the king of the Bulgarians who had extended his own rule far to the West. Thus Moravia was squeezed between the Franks and the Bulgars and felt the need for a strong ally.

It was under these political circumstances that the king of the Moravians, Rastislav, sought the assistance of the Greeks. He asked their emperor not only for a formal diplomatic recognition of his state but also for missionaries to teach his people Greek Christianity. The patriarch and

¹⁹Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, p. 65.

²⁰Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents*, pp. 115, also 104-05, 137.

the emperor responded promptly. Once again they turned to the experienced Greek brothers Constantine and Methodios who were "familiar with the Slavic tongue" in the words of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, to lead a missionary expedition to Moravia.²¹

The two brothers, sons of Leo, the governor of the district of Thessalonike, had received an excellent education. Both were multilingual. Constantine in particular, in addition to his native Greek, knew not only Slavic, but Syriac, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew. It seems that several years before their departure for Moravia, at the advice of Photios who was greatly concerned with the Christianization of the neighboring Bulgars, they had invented a Slavonic script, the so-called Glogolithic alphabet, and had translated parts of the Bible, and several liturgical books into Slavonic.

Thus well-organized the two brothers led their missionary delegation to the Western Slavs and in 863 they arrived in Pannonia. Their missionary activity was successful, especially during the first three years. Constantine and Methodios earned a great reputation and the approval not only of Constantinople's Patriarch but also of Rome's Pope Adrian II (867-872), who invited them to his see in order to inform the Church of Rome of their activities. While the two brothers were in Rome, Constantine, who had adopted the monastic name Cyril, died prematurely on February 14, 869, in a Greek monastery.

Methodios initially received the support of Rome and became archbishop of Pannonia, with Moravia, the old Sirmium as his see. As archbishop he became a victim of political and ecclesiastical intrigues to the extent that he suffered in the hands of Ratislav's successor Wiching and the Frankish clergy, who resented the fact that the two Greek brothers introduced Christianity in the local language rather than in Latin as was the practice of Rome.

²¹Cross and Wetzor, *Chronicle*, pp. 62-63; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 105-09; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 134-44.

While archbishop of Pannonia, Methodios translated into Slavonic all the books of the Old Testament, except the books of Maccabees; the "Synagoge of Fifty Titles," a handbook of canon law compiled by John Scholastikos; a Greek Paterikon; and a collection of homilies by Greek Fathers. Furthermore, he left behind a legacy of major cultural significance. Ultimately he found himself abandoned by Rome and his disciples were expelled from Pannonia. He died on April 16, 885, and his funeral was conducted in Greek, Latin, and Slavonic. He was buried by the Cathedral of Stare-Meste, the present-day city of Gradisch-Uherske Hradiste' in modern Hungary.²² Theophylaktos, archbishop of Ochrid in the early twelfth century, who wrote the *Life of Clement*, one of Methodios' disciples, relates that the two brothers left behind 200 congregations with a multitude (*plethos*) of priests, deacons, and subdeacons.²³

The combined missionary work of the two brothers lasted for nearly twenty-two years. Their mission however was continued by their disciples who were especially successful in the state of Zalevar. It survives to the present day in the country of Czechoslovakia, including the old districts of Croatia and Pannonia. George Ostrogorsky has summarized the importance of the two Greek brothers as follows: For the southern and eastern Slavs the achievement of the two brothers who had started their career under the patronage of Patriarch Photios was of undying significance. Not only did they give Christianity to those tribes but they gave them their alphabet and the very beginnings of their national literature, culture, and civilization.²⁴

²²Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, p. 188. For Methodios's episcopacy in Pannonia see Imre Boba, "The Episcopacy of Methodius," *Slavic Review*, 26 (1967) 85-93.

²³Theophylaktos, "Βίος καὶ Πολιτεία . . . Κλήμεντος Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγάρων" PG 126.1194-1240. For an English translation see Ivan Duichev, ed., *Kiril and Methodius: Founders of Slavonic Writing*, trans. Spass Nikolov (New York, 1985), pp. 93-126, esp. par. 23.

²⁴George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* trans. Joan Hussey, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), pp. 229-30.

The missionary work of the two brothers reveals the basic principles of the theology and the practice of mission. First, the two missionaries knew the language of the people they were sent to evangelize. Second, they went to the new nations well-prepared with a translation of parts of the Scriptures and liturgical books in their own dialect. Third, their primary consideration was to organize an ecclesia, a worshiping community rather than a Greek colony for political or economic reasons. The sources do not indicate whether the two brothers initiated the establishment of hospitals, schools, hospices, orphanages, homes for the poor and other social welfare institutions as was the practice in Byzantium.

It was during the same century that Bulgaria, too, officially became a Christian nation. Under the leadership of their king Boris, the Bulgarians realized the need to organize their state on a firmer political and religious foundation by adopting Christianity as their official religion, seeking an alliance with Constantinople rather than the remote Franks. In 864 Boris received baptism and was named Michael. His baptism set an example for his subjects to follow. Following Boris' baptism, Patriarch Photios sent Greek priests to organize the Bulgarian Church. The Christianization of the Bulgarians led to their political, racial and cultural unification.²⁵

The official conversion of the Russians during the reign of Vladimir is charmingly related in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. It relates that Vladimir summoned together his boyars and the city-elders, and said to them: "Behold, the Bulgars came before me urging me to accept their religion. Then came the Germans and praised their own faith; and after them came the Jews. Finally the Greeks appeared, criticizing all other faiths but commending their own, and

²⁵Theophylaktos, "Bios" 126.16 *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 59-60. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 126-27; Idem, "Byzantium, Rome, the Franks, and the Christianization of the Southern Slavs," in *Cyrillo-Methodiana*, ed. M. Hellman et. al. (Graz, 1964), pp. 85-125, and especially George C. Soulis, "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965) 21-43, esp. 22-38.

they spoke at length. . . . Their words were artful, and it was wondrous to listen and pleasant to hear them.”²⁶

The *Russian Primary Chronicle* adds that Vladimir asked his boyars to express their opinion on the subject of a new religion for their people. The boyars advised him to send emissaries and inspect the four faiths and report back to the prince. Vladimir was pleased with the advice and “chose good and wise men to the number of ten, and directed them to go first among the Bulgars (Muslims), the Germans (Roman Catholics), the Jews, and finally to visit the Greeks.” The emissaries fulfilled their mission and upon their return, Vladimir called together his boyars and the elders in order to hear the delegations’ report.

The envoys reported “on their visit to Greece” as follows: “The Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty.”²⁷ It was the beauty of the service, the splendor of the churches, the esthetics of iconography, and the experience of worship that impressed and attracted the Russians to Greek Christianity — not the theology and the spiritual content of the liturgy. The fact that everything was in Greek and apparently they understood little of the liturgy’s theology neither diminished their admiration nor prevented them from making a decisive recommendation to their prince. These aspects of Greek Christianity had a decisive impact on the nature of Russian Christianity and remained its hallmarks for many centuries.

It has been observed that the *Chronicle*’s account of the Christianization of Russia is a myth rather than history. Admittedly it contains much legendary material but it also con-

²⁶Cross-Wetzel, *Chronicle*, pp. 110-12.

²⁷Ibid. p. 111.

tains more than a kernel of truth. The author, or authors, of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* were nearly contemporaries to the events they described and the oral traditions they used. Thus, they were closer to the events and better informed than we are. The fact remains that during Vladimir's reign we have the mass baptism of the Russian peoples.

Did Vladimir impose the new faith upon his subjects, or did they accept Christianity as an imitation of the example of their leader? A combination of both lies behind the rapid growth of Christianity in the land of the Rus. But whatever the answer may be, this was not an unparalleled phenomenon. Something very similar had happened with the conversion and baptism of Constantine and the spread of Christianity in the fourth century; with the baptism of Tiridates and the conversion of the Armenians; Clovis and the mass baptism of the Franks in the fifth; and the baptism of Boris and the mass conversion of the Bulgarians in the ninth century.²⁸

Mass baptism implied little instruction and the survival of much native culture and tradition. In all four instances, at first the conversion was only nominal. Pagan practices persisted for many years. The masses of people adhered to their old culture and habits while the more cultivated among them assimilated the more sophisticated aspects of Christianity. We should not be surprised therefore to observe that Vladimir's adoption of Christianity and the Christianization of Russia did not mean elimination of established practices and ways of life.

In its missionary activity among the Russians, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople did not seek to destroy the native culture. Furthermore it followed the Cyrillo-Methodian policy which respected local languages, preaching the Gospel in the language of the natives. Cyril had condemned the Latin practice which had emphasized the preservation of the *triglosia*, the theory according to which the Christian

²⁸Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, 2.30-31, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York, 1977), pp. 143-45; *Chronicle*, pp. 59-60.

Gospel should be preached and religious services be conducted only in one of the three "sacred languages," that is, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.²⁹

There is no doubt that the Greek missionaries exerted no intentional effort to Hellenize the new nations, to impose the Greek language on their liturgical life and to alter their native cultures. Culture of course, is more than language for it includes the sum total of ways of living, customs and skills, popular beliefs and traditions built up by a group of people and transmitted from one generation to another. Nevertheless through Christianity, the Greek missions taught the new Christian nations aspects of their civilization such as music, art, writing, moral values, ideas concerning the imperial office, laws, coronation rites, political ideologies, and emblems of power.³⁰

For many centuries all these influences survived, and Russian life and civilization felt the impact of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's missions, including its ecumenical and philanthropic outlook. "Beyond all doubt," wrote Dostoyevsky in 1880, "the destiny of a Russian is Pan-European and universal. To become a true Russian is to become the brother of all men. . . . Our future lies in universality, won not by violence, but by the strength derived from our great ideal — the reuniting of all mankind." And K. Leontyev expressed a similar vision when he wrote: "Sometimes I dream that a Russian Czar may put himself at the head of the social movement and organize it, as Constantine organized Christianity."³¹

The background of Dostoyevsky's and Leontyev's religious and political ideology is Greek and Christian, and it

²⁹Ibid. p. 63; see also Francis Dvornik, "The Significance of the Missions of Cyril and Methodius," *Slavic Review*, 23 (1964) 195-211, esp. 204. Dvornik sees in the mission of the two brothers more cultural than religious significance.

³⁰Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 291-370.

³¹Cited by Herbert J. Muller, *The Uses of the Past* (New York and Oxford, 1966), p. 288.

can be traced to Kievan Russia, but it took shape after the fall of Constantinople. When Ivan the Great overthrew the Tartar yoke he viewed himself as a combination of Constantine and Justinian. "You alone, in all that is under heaven, are a Christian Czar," the monk-Hegoumenos Philotheos (Filofei) wrote him. "And take note, O religious and gracious Tsar, that all Christian kingdoms are merged into yours alone, that the two Romes have fallen, but the third stands; and there shall be no fourth." The first Rome had fallen because it had persecuted the Christian faith. The second Rome-Constantinople had fallen because it betrayed the true Christian faith at the Unionist Council of Ferrara-Florence. The third Rome-Moscow should succeed where the other two had failed.³²

The Christian ideology in Kievan Russia had a civilizing influence upon Tsars and people alike. The first fruits of Christianity's influence can be seen in the transformation of Vladimir's personality. Before his conversion Vladimir was a savage warrior and belligerent chieftain; he had given his sexual impulses a free reign with no self-control, indulging in food, drink, and every carnal pleasure. He had seduced his brother's wife. He had many children with five wives, including a Greek, and some eight hundred concubines in several towns of Russia.³³

After his baptism, Vladimir received instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith, including ethics, and changed his style of life radically. Greek ethical Christianity, which had influenced political theory and governmental policies and inspired much philanthropic activity in the Byzantine Empire exerted much influence on Vladimir and the Russian social ethos. Vladimir pursued a life of practical Christianity and adopted philanthropic policies which became features

³²Ibid. 289. I have several serious disagreements with Muller's interpretation of Byzantine influence on Russia but several of his thought-provoking insights deserve to be noticed.

³³Cross-Wetzel, *Chronicle*, pp. 93-94.

of the Kievan state.

The *Russian Primary Chronicle* underlines Vladimir's ethical virtues and moral concerns, especially his mercifulness, hospitality, generosity toward the poor — his philanthropy in general. But philanthropy as an attribute of the Kievan princes, including Boris, Gleb, and especially Vladimir II Monomach, was not an original idea. It had its Byzantine prototype. As we have repeatedly emphasized, the Byzantine concept of the Emperor's or ruler's philanthropia can be traced back to the age of Constantine the Great. It had deep roots in Greek political theory and practice, and blossomed in the Byzantine era proper. Vladimir's devotion to philanthropy, the establishment of homes for the aged, hospitals, hospices (xenones), monasteries with infirmaries and a commitment to charity toward the poor, the destitute, strangers and travelers, the sick and the dying were policies and practices transplanted to Kievan Russia from Byzantium.³⁴

Vladimir's example was imitated by many of his people. When he sent out heralds inviting them to be baptized, they exclaimed in their enthusiasm: "if this were not good, the Prince and his boyars would not have accepted it."³⁵ The official adoption of Christianity, however, and Vladimir's own policy toward capital punishment did not prevent dynastic struggles and deaths in his own family. The cruel death which Vladimir's sons Boris and Gleb met at the hands of their brother Svyatopolk, and Svyatopolk at the hands of the other brother Iaroslav, who avenged the death of the younger

³⁴Ibid. 119-26, 206-19; Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1968), esp. chs. 4 and 8; idem, *Poverty, Society and Philanthropy in the Late Medieval Greek World* (New York, 1989), esp. part 2. For Vladimir's adoption of philanthropic attitudes and policies see also Nicholas Zernov, *The Russians and their Church* (London, 1968), pp. 8-12; Russell Zguta, "Monastic Medicine in Kievan Rus' and Early Muscovy" in H. Birnbaum and M. S. Flier, Editors, *Medieval Russian Culture* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 54-70, esp. 58, 68-70.

³⁵Cross-Wetor, *Chronicle*, p. 116.

brothers³⁶ reveals not only dynastic conflicts but also the little effect that Christianity had in the life of some members of his family. Historically it has been confirmed that while individuals can change, societies require much more time to enjoy the fruits of a change.

The Greek missionary activity among the Russians introduced a new faith, more refined morals, philanthropic concerns and institutions but it was not able to alter or extinguish long standing customs and popular culture, a phenomenon present in the early Christian centuries. With the exception of a few heretical movements, Christianity did not perceive culture as alien, deserving destruction. The opposite has been historically true. In its efforts to Christianize "pagan" cultures, Christianity absorbed much of native cultures. Thus to the present time certain aspects of Orthodox Christian culture in Russia are peculiar to Russians.

For example the Russian ruling house did not adopt the Christian practice of referring to its members by the name of their patron saints. Olga was called either by her Scandinavian name Helga or by her Russian appellation but not by her Christian name Eleni (or Helena). Vladimir was seldom, if at all, mentioned by the name of his patron saint Basil (Basileios); Yaroslav by his Christian name Georgios (George), and Svyatopolk as Michael. Paradoxically, to the present day the Russian Orthodox Church does not refer to the first Christian ruler of Russia as Saint Basil but as Saint Vladimir.³⁷

While the Greek missions introduced several aspects of their civilization to the Russians, they failed to give them the Greek classics. Thus the intellectual life of ancient Russia remained very poor for many centuries. Patriarch Photios, the philosopher Constantine-Cyril, Leo the Mathematician and other Greek intellectuals of the ninth and tenth centuries

³⁶Ibid. 126-31. See also Constantin de Grunwald, *Saints of Russia* (London, 1960), pp. 31-38.

³⁷See Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, trans. Z. A. Ragozin (New York, 1969), pp. 24-40; Cross et. al. "The Earliest Medieval Churches of Kiev," p. 478, n. 4.

were great classical scholars with a profound appreciation for ancient Greek heritage. Unlike Greek Christianity, for nearly seven centuries Russian Christianity remained ignorant and even suspicious of the treasures of Greek antiquity with serious consequences for Russian Christianity and intellectual and scientific knowledge. "Anyone who loves geometry is abhorred by God" wrote a Russian bishop. "A spiritual sin it is to study astronomy and the books of Greece" wrote another. This attitude survived as late as the nineteenth century. For example under Nicholas I (1825-1855) all works on logic (including Aristotle's) and philosophy were forbidden. While the Christian Greeks, with some exceptions, never ceased to study the ancient masters, not a few Russians spoke "scornfully of the foolishness of the Greeks,"³⁸ an attitude reminiscent of a Tertullian and a Pope Gregory the First rather than of Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Photios, John of Euchaita, Eustathios of Thessalonike, and other Greek Fathers. The Russians accepted Greek Christianity with enthusiasm but not the Greek Classics which had been an integral part of Byzantine civilization. Because the Russians received Greek Christianity in the Slavic vernacular and not in Greek and only religion and not the classical Greek heritage, has been viewed by several Russian scholars such as E. Golubinsky and George Fedotov as an impediment to Kievan Russia's progress. While Golubinsky did not hold the Greeks responsible for this failure, others blamed Byzantium. Fedotov "had serious doubts about the benefits of the use of the Slavic vernacular. Having received the Bible and a vast amount of various religious writings in their own language, the Slavs had no incentive to learn Greek, for translations once made were sufficient for immediate practical

³⁸Cited by Muller, *Uses*, pp. 290-91. The positive attitude of the Greek Fathers toward ancient Greek learning is common knowledge. Three important works need to be mentioned: B. N. Tatakis, *E Byzantine Philosophia* (Athens, 1977); N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1983); Paul Lemerle, *Le Premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971).

needs. They were enclosed, therefore, within the narrow limits of an exclusively religious literature. They were never initiated into the great classical tradition of Hellenic antiquity. If only our ancestors had learned Greek . . . they could have reached finally the very springs of Greek inspiration . . . they received but one Book." The Serbian historian V. Jagic had no appreciation for Byzantine civilization and in his opinion the Slavs and Russians were reared in a "school of senility" and brought up on the "decrepit culture of a moribund world." Even George Florovsky, who refutes some of the arguments of Golubinsky, Fedotov, and Jagic, observes that "the absence of the classical tradition properly was not so tragic and fatal." Nevertheless, Florovsky admits that because the Russians failed to adopt the classical Greek heritage, they did not acquire the Greek inquisitive mind which had kept Byzantium ever searching, unquiet, and in constant tension and renewal. "The Byzantine achievement had been accepted, but Byzantine inquisitiveness had not. For that reason the [Byzantine] achievement itself could not be kept alive."³⁹

Is there any explanation why the Greek classical heritage — philosophy, literature, science — was not introduced to the Slavic world by Byzantium through their missions? Was it because the Greek missionaries were concerned only with the preaching of a simple Gospel? Was it because the Greek Church itself did not at this time appreciate the classics? Some modern scholars explain that "although Kievan Russia was the religious offshoot of Byzantium, Russians found Greek civilization [and secular learning] largely inaccessible because of the Church Slavonic idiom and the narrow religious preoccupation of the [Russian] Christian elite." It is also possible that educationally, the new nations were not ready for the Greek classics, even though the Greek language had been used in Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, and

³⁹Georges Florovsky, "The Problem of Old Russian Culture," *Slavic Review*, 21 (1962) 1-17, esp. 6-10.

Russia. In the Kievan community Greek was used for nearly a century before Vladimir's conversion. It was only after Russia's official Christianization that the creation of a Slavophone church became a reality.

With the spread of Greek Orthodox Christianity, an advanced state of civilization was introduced in Kievan Russia affecting its art, architecture, education, law, literature, music, ethics, political theory and systems of government. But this civilization did not eliminate native culture — ways of living, clothing, vessels, customs, popular or laic religiosity. The survival of native culture secured the identity of the natives but their adoption of aspects of Byzantine civilization made them dependent on Byzantium.⁴⁰

It is an open question whether Kievan Russia was a satellite of Constantinople. It is true however that Constantinople was Kiev's political, economic and cultural focus and that "all the laws of the Greco-Roman Emperors were binding upon Russia from the moment of their publication in Constantinople" in the words of the Russian historian V. Ikonnikov. In light, however, of the continuation of native popular culture and national identity a Russian could say: "I am a Russian . . . but my faith and religion are Greek."⁴¹

In brief, the Byzantine Empire "moulded the undisciplined tribes of Serbs, Bulgars, Russians, Croats even, and made nations out of them. It gave to them its religion and institutions, taught their princes how to govern, transmitted to them the very principles of civilization — writing and literature," in the words of Francis Dvornik, one of the most authoritative scholars of the subject.⁴² But ultimately the Greek Orthodox Christian faith became the principal and lasting legacy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to Russia and other Slavic nations. Even Soviet scholars who try to

⁴⁰Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 188-201.

⁴¹Cited by A. A. Vasiliev, "Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium?" *Speculum*, 7 (1932) 350; Vernadsky, pp. 52-59; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 259-82.

⁴²Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, p. xv.

minimize the role of Greek Christianity in early Russia admit "that the Church played an important role in consolidating the Kievan state, and bringing Russian culture closer to the cultural treasures of Byzantium by spreading education and creating enduring literary and artistic traditions."⁴³ With the transmission of Christianity, a new Russian culture was born for religion and culture are in constant interaction. This result was inevitable because Christianity is neither above nor dependently below but an organic part of culture.

⁴³Boris A. Rybakov, *The Early Centuries of Russian History*, trans. John Weir (Moscow, 1965), pp. 51-53, 66-67.

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humanity, is Perfection, the Absolute'' (p. 91). Basset talks of the historian's need to put historical material in order and start from a fixed point, and concedes that dialogue with his colleagues has caused him to rethink the whole concept of history.

Finally, though each has discussed and developed his own point of view, Synesios concludes "we have agreed on the greatest — on humanity. Each of us respects the humanity of the other. That is to say that we respect in each one the spark enclosed within him, the spark from God's light" (p. 182).

Of course, *Dialogues in a Monastery* shows Tsatsos exploring different philosophical and theological points of view in pursuit of the truth through his dialogical characters. Certainly, Jean Demos' smooth translation is excellent in providing English readers with ready access to one of Greece's most provocative thinkers. For this we are indeed grateful.

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The Fathers Speak: St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa. Selected Letters and Life-Records. Translated from the Greek with an introduction by George A. Barrois and with a Foreword by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 224. 1 map. Paper, \$8.95.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life. Trans. Catharine P. Roth and David Anderson. Introduction by Catharine P. Roth. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 114. Paper.

The House of Holy Wisdom: A Homily on Proverbs 9. By Father Bessarion [Agioantonides]. Foreword by Chrysostomos, Bishop of Oreoi. Alamogordo, NM.: Saint Anthony the Great Orthodox Publications, 1987. Pp. 56, including illustrations. Paper, \$8.00.

In this day and age when there is, at the same time, an incredible amount of freedom and license in Western society and when the very foundations of the family and the Church are being shaken by contemporary movements to liberalize every aspect of society, and institutional Christianity is often blamed as the source of many of the West's current social, moral, and political problems, it is only appropriate that books like *The Fathers Speak*, *St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life*, and even *The House of Holy Wisdom* should direct our attention to the patristic and scriptural sources that have provided so much of the proper and dynamic foundations of Christianity. The late Georges Barrois, who taught at Princeton Theological Seminary and at St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary, was a respected biblical archaeologist and historian of medieval Latin who, among many books and articles, included a contribution to sections of the Jerusalem Bible. His commitment to the Orthodox Church also made him a profound student of the church Fathers. In *The Fathers Speak*, he did not intend to present the contribution of three Cappadocians to the development of Christian dogma so much as he wanted to introduce us to the intimate personal lives of Saint Basil, Saint Gregory of Nazianzos, and Saint Gregory of Nyssa by offering us, for the first time, an anthology of texts collected almost exclusively from the personal correspondence between Saint Basil the Great, his close friend Gregory "the Theologian," and his younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in this way revealing "the warmth of their affection for one another, their problems in 'the chaotic' situation stirred up by heretics and politicoes courting the favor of the Basileus, their interventions in favor of little people, their foundations for the sick, the poor, the travellers, their spiritual pieces of advice, their Hellenic culture, their Athenian witticisms, the most intimate details of their frugality . . . and bulletins on their state of health" (p. 220). Professor Barrois has successfully sought to share with us something of the humanity of these Fathers by giving us a "sampler" that would bring out what was most characteristic of their personalities.

Still, we learn, in an informal way, of their views on the Trinity, on marriage and family, on simony, on abortion, on friends, and other subjects, and are told of the way the Christian community performed Communion, marriage, and funeral rites, and carried on its everyday life. Despite such non-existent English words as "condisciples," "inexistant," "intrigant," and "mutism," the translator generally gives us a readable text that should command wide attention and interest.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life contains excellent renderings of Saint John Chrysostom's Homily 19 (on 1 Corinthians 7), Homily 7 (on Ephesians 5.22-23), Homily 21 (on Ephesians 6.1-4), Homily 12 (on Colossians 4.18), his sermon on marriage, and his advisory on "How to Choose a Wife." Catharine Roth provides an excellent introduction. She notes that Saint John expects couples to be transfigured by Christian love: "When two become one in Christ, their love can enable them to transcend any limitations imposed by the world. Depending on their spiritual gifts, either one may teach the other, and both together may fill their common life with as much holiness as any monks" (p. 11). Equality of husband and wife in matters of sex and responsibility is stressed as is God's reasons for the institution of marriage: first, to promote the holiness ("chastisy") of the husband and wife and only secondarily to produce children. Saint John Chrysostom's emphasis on the harmony and integrity of marriage, the love of husband and wife for each other, and their essential unity are themes which contemporary social critics would do well to ponder. Saint John Chrysostom repeatedly stresses, in accordance with Saint Paul, that "after marriage, you are no longer two, but one flesh" (p. 62) and "there is no relationship between human beings so close as that of husband and wife, if they are united as they ought to be" (p. 43).

St. John on Marriage and Family Life contains selections from this celibate church Father that provide an excellent array of scriptural and early Christian arguments for the *Christian* basis of marriage and family life. They are arguments that served well for more than 1500 years and are

now being questioned, even rejected, in the name of freedom, but Saint John Chrysostom reminds us that "if you transgress God's law, you become a slave even if you appear to be free" (p. 36) because "a man shows he is truly free when his spirit remains unfettered" (p. 37).

In *The House of Holy Wisdom*, produced on the occasion of the 1450th anniversary of the dedication of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia (February 17, 537 A.D.), Father Bessarion, Superior of the Monastery of Saint Anthony the Great in Alamogordo, New Mexico, takes us back to Proverbs 9 in the King James version, of which he presents a commentary in twelve parts in which "Wisdom" is both an attribute of God and a name of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures. The house of God is the Holy Church which he founded" (p. 21). The commentary interprets Proverbs 9 prophetically in terms of the Christian message of salvation, in a style reminiscent of the early Christian Fathers. Father Bessarion also includes a short section called "Scriptural Comparison" with biblical references to Holy Wisdom and the "House of God"; an Orthodox hymn; notes on Bishop Chrysostomos, himself, and the publisher; an index of scriptural references; and a brief general index. The aim of this modest publication is to "serve the needs both of those seeking to understand Christianity of the first centuries as well as those desiring to know more about the Scriptures and the Orthodox Church." The list of errata at the beginning unfortunately does not include *all* of the typographical errors actually committed.

The Fathers Speak and *St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life* are important resources for a proper understanding of the church Fathers and indicate something of their contribution to Eastern Christianity; Father Bessarion's *minus opus* provides the reader with an opportunity for spiritual meditation in the Orthodox tradition. All should be noted for their forthright Christian perspective.

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The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR. By Frank E. Sysyn. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, n.d. Pp. 16 (unnumbered). Paper.

Ukrainian Churches Under Soviet Rule: Two Case Studies. By Bohdan R. Bociurkiw. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984. Pp. 72. Paper.

Two Orthodox Ukrainian Churchmen of the Early Eighteenth Century: Teofan Prokopovych and Stefan Iavors'kyi. By George Y. Shevelov. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1985. Pp. 46. Paper.

The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia. By John-Paul Kimka. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, n.d. Pp. 48. Paper.

All of the above titles are part of the Millenium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine series of the Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute and were published on the occasion of the Millenium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine in 1988. The aim of the Millenium series was: "First, although the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches are true successors to the Church formed in Kievan Rus' in 988, the Soviet state and the Russian Orthodox Church are attempting to portray the Millenium as the thousandth anniversary of the Russian nation and of Russian Orthodoxy. Therefore, it is vital that the West be informed about the religious history and culture of Kievan Rus' from the Ukrainian perspective. Second, Ukrainians themselves may not be aware of the wealth of recent scholarly work on topics relating to Ukraine's rich cultural and religious legacy. Therefore, it is important to make readily available to all the heirs of Ukrainian Christian culture a basis for re-examining their spiritual roots" (all Forewords). The founding of the Ukrainian Studies Fund in 1957 and the establishment of three endowed chairs in Ukrainian history, literature, and linguistics at Harvard, and the support of Harvard's Ukrainian Research Institute are helping meet these goals. The publication of the booklets in

the Millenium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine is only a part of this great effort.

Frank Sysyn's *The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR* briefly but efficiently reviews the historical background of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Russia that resulted in the annexation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the Russian Church in the seventeenth century, and the Russian hierarchy's opposition to the restoration of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the twentieth. Bohdan Bociurkiw's *Ukrainian Churches Under Soviet Rule* is a reprint of his two articles "The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 1920-1930: A Study in Religious Modernization" from Dennis Dunn, ed., *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Colorado, 1977) and "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine: A Case Study in Soviet Church Policy" from *Canadian Slavonic Papers* VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). The first article describes the story of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs), the lay dominated councils (*radys*), and the all-Ukrainian sobor of October 1921 that made a radical canonical break from Orthodox tradition and alienated the UAPTs from all other Orthodox churches, and resulted in its liquidation by the Soviets in January 1930. Soviet political policy was certainly involved, as was Soviet hostility to any "refined" or "modernized" religion. "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine" article tells the story of the liquidation and conversion of the Ukrainian Uniates, the impact of Russian nationalism on the thinking of Soviet leaders, and the role of Russian Orthodoxy on Russian and Ukrainian nationalism, leading to the "Reunion Sobor" of L'viv in March of 1946 and resulting in the "reintegration" of the Ukrainian Catholics into an indivisible "tsarist" Russian Orthodox Church.

George Y. Shevelov's *Two Orthodox Ukrainian Churchmen of the Early Eighteenth Century* contains two articles "On Teofan Prokopovič as writer and Preacher in His Kiev Period," reprinted from *Harvard Slavic Studies* II (1954) and

"Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I," reprinted from *Slavonic and East European Review* (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1951). In the first, Shevelov demonstrates that Prokopovič, who was the leading ideological spokesman for the newly created Russian Empire, had been a proponent of the idea of Kiev as the second Jerusalem and as the city of Andrew the First-Called, and of the power of Vladimir. Shevelov concludes that "Prokopovič is transformed into an ideologist of state power using Christianity as its instrument" (p. 223). In "Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I" Shevelov shows Yavorsky as the best representative of the Ukrainian party," which can be described as "europeanising conservative." John-Paul Kimka's *The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia* gives us reprints of the author's "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building, 1772-1918" from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VIII, No. 3/4 and "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900" from *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXI, No. 1 (Ottawa: Carleton University). The first essay discusses: (1) the Church and the Habsburgs; (2) the Church and education; (3) the Church's role in shaping national identity; (4) the place of churchmen and Church institutions in the Ukrainian national movement; (5) the Church and the peasantry. The general conclusion is that "The Greek Catholic Church had done the most to accelerate the maturation of the Galician Ukrainians into nationhood" (p. 452). The article "Priests and Peasants" stresses the role the clergy played in the Ukrainian national movement in Austria and argues that we can use it as a case study of progression from clericalism to secularization in national movements. In Ukrainian Galicia "the validity of the potential antagonism between priest and peasant depends on the social and economic position of the religious leader in the community" and constitutes "the model most suited to the sociologically simple societies of eastern Europe, those of the so-called non-historic or plebian peoples" (p. 14).

Certainly the Ukrainian Millenium booklet series provides the reader with expert and highly readable sources for understanding and appreciating the Ukrainian situation in particular. It also demonstrates clearly the interplay between religious and secular forces and the tragic results of the conflicting claims of nationalism and the churches, of politics and religion. These publications also provide intimate and revealing glimpses of Orthodox-Catholic relations in complex geographical regions and crucial historical periods.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Orthodox Perspectives on Pastoral Praxis. By Theodore Stylianopoulos (ed.) Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988. Pp. 202. Paper \$10.00.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and Hellenic College is being marked by the publication of three volumes of papers delivered at a number of commemorative conferences held on the campus of these institutions in Brookline, MA. The first of these volumes, edited by the Very Rev. Dr. Theodore Stylianopoulos, is the present collection of essays on pastoral subjects ranging from the role of women in the Orthodox Church to monasticism and its role in the contemporary Church. These essays are provocative and, though unequal in quality, all of great interest to the Orthodox scholar and believer alike. The volume is, as usual, handsomely bound by the Holy Cross Orthodox Press and adorned with a magnificent mosaic icon of the washing of the feet of the Apostles by Christ — an apt image for a collection of writings on pastoral matters.

I will not consider every essay in this collection, not only because, as I have noted, they vary in quality, but also because I cannot give justice to many of the issues raised in these

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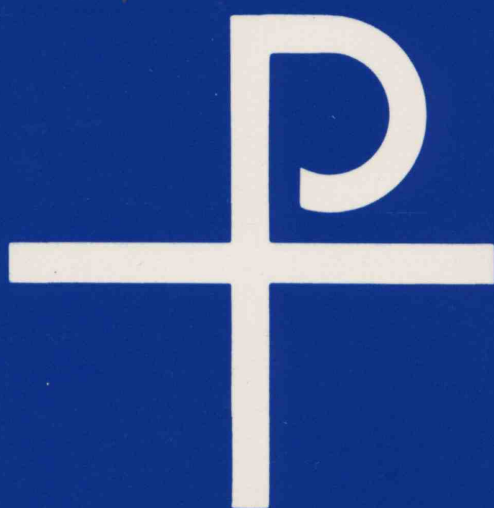
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**The
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Review**



**Volume 33
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The Millenium of the Conversion of Rus' (988-1988)

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY AND MOST of the other cultural aspects of Byzantine civilization through the medium of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople by Prince Vladimir — baptized Basil after the Byzantine Emperor Basil II — and the people of Rus', was admittedly one of the decisive events in the history of Orthodoxy, Christianity in general, and the world at large. This is why the Annual Patriarch Athenagoras Lectures, established by Archbishop Iakovos and funded by George and Chrystal Condakes in memory of that great ecumenical minded world religious leader, were devoted in 1988 to the celebration of the millenium of the conversion of Rus'.

The millenium was enthusiastically observed by the entire community of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology: administration, faculty, students, guests, and friends. As part of the event, many papers were read, some of which appear in the pages that follow.

I wish to thank the editor, Fr. N. Michael Vaporis, for hosting these papers in the present number of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

George C. Papademetriou
Chair, Lectureship Committee



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Reviews

Apostolic Letter, On the Dignity and Vocation of Women on the Occasion of the Marian Year (Mulieris Dignitatem). By Pope John Paul II. Boston, MA: St. Paul Books and Media, 1988.

I am most pleased to have the opportunity to comment, however briefly, on the Apostolic Letter of the bishop of Rome, John Paul II, "On the Dignity and Vocation of Women," which was written and published in Rome, at St. Peter's on August 15, 1988, on the "Solemnity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary" in the year 1988, the tenth year of his Pontificate.

It is a long letter of 111 pages with nine chapters. Immediately, one understands that the bishop of Rome is concerned, deeply concerned with the role of women in today's society. In other words, he is concerned with the question of the place, influence and testimony of women in the scheme of our redemption in Christ in general, and in the life of the Christian Church in particular. The Apostolic Letter of the pope begins with the beautiful sentence, "The dignity and the vocation of women, a subject of constant and Christian reflection, have gained exceptional prominence in recent years" (p. 9). The basic documents, which he uses repeatedly, are from the official papers of the 2nd Vatican Council. Thus, immediately he sets the tone of his arguments, based on the declaration of the 2nd Vatican Council with a long quotation: "The hour is coming, in fact has come, when the

vocation of women is being acknowledged in its fullness, the hour in which women acquire in the world an influence, an effect and a power never hitherto achieved. That is why, at this moment when the human race is undergoing so deep a transformation, women imbued with a spirit of the Gospel can do so much to aid humanity in not falling" (p. 9). The pope enumerates his predecessors' encyclical letters and discourses, and he refers to his immediate predecessor, Pope Paul VI, who showed the relevance of this "sign of the times" by conferring the title, "Doctor of the Church" upon Saint Teresa of Jesus and Saint Catherine of Siena (p. 10). Again, in order to prove the interest and care of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church in women, a commission has been formed for the study of contemporary problems concerning the "effective promotion of the dignity and the responsibility of women" (p. 10). Once more he quotes his predecessor, Paul VI, who wrote in one of his discourses as follows: "Within Christianity, more than in any other religion, and since its very beginning, women have had a special dignity, of which the New Testament shows us many important aspects . . . it is evident that women are meant to form part of the living and working structure of Christianity in so prominent a manner that perhaps not all their potentialities have yet been made clear" (p. 10).

The pope, correctly I think, takes the basic theme of the Marian Year of 1988, that is, the person of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, as the key to understanding the role of women in the Church. Mary is called the "women of the Bible" (p. 11), who belongs to the salvific mystery of Christ and is, therefore, also present in a special way in the mystery of the Church. Thus this special woman becomes "the exceptional link" between the Church and the whole human family. The pope draws a close relationship of the "woman" of the Proto-evangelium in the Book of Genesis (3.15), with the women of the New Testament, and most especially, with the Pauline understanding that, "when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of *woman*" (Gal 4.4; cf.

also Eph 1.9). Again and again, the pope stresses the biblical message and reality that although God sent his own Son for our salvation, this Man was born of a woman and this woman must be found and be considered at the center of the salvific event of history. This woman is the representative and the archetype of the whole human race, and she represents the humanity which belongs to all human beings, both men and women (pp. 16-17). This reality of "Woman-Mother of God" leads to the determination of the essential horizon of reflection on the dignity and the vocation of women. In one beautiful sentence, the pope writes and expresses the whole message of the Church on women. "Mary, the woman of the Bible, is the most complete expression of this dignity and vocation of women" (p. 21).

The bishop of Rome goes even deeper into the biblical waters in order to catch the mystery of the equality of man and woman. In Genesis 1.27 and 28, he clearly finds the constitution of the immutable basis of all Christian anthropology, that is, that God created both men and women in his own image and likeness. Both man and woman are human beings to an equal degree, both are created in God's image (p. 22). This image, likeness, and equality are passed on by man and woman as spouses and parents to their descendants: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it" (Gen 1.28). In a brilliant analysis the pope explains Genesis, Chapter 2, especially verses 18 and on, where God declares of Eve that, "she shall be called woman (*issah*), because she was taken out of man." Thus woman is another *I* in a common humanity, in the frame of a mutual relationship, man to woman and woman to man. The pope alludes to the plurality and the union and the communion and love of the three Persons of the Trinity, and draws the analogy that, "the communion of the two shows that the creation of man is also marked by a certain likeness to the divine communion" (p. 26). Here exactly, the bishop of Rome finds that, together with the likeness of man to God, exists also "non-likeness." This separates the whole of creation from the Creator. Although

the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, uses anthropomorphic expressions of masculine and feminine qualities for God, these qualities cannot refer to the divine and spiritual nature of God. "Thus even fatherhood in God is completely divine and free of the 'masculine' bodily characteristics proper to human fatherhood," the pope writes (p. 31). Here I expected a deeper analysis of the doctrine of the incomprehensibility of the divine essence, who is beyond any human understanding and completely free of any human analogies and categories.

In chapter four, the bishop of Rome discusses successfully the relation of the Eve-Mary relationship, and how, at the "urging of the Evil One, Adam and Eve abused their liberty, committed the original sin," which is called by the pope, "the mystery of sin or the mystery of evil" which exists in the world" (p. 33). The pope does not, unfortunately, discuss the origin of evil in the creation here, but, in any case, he defines the original sin as the "negation of God as Creator in his relationship with man" (p. 34). He comments that in 1 Timothy 2.13-14, Adam was not deceived, but woman was deceived. What that really means is that our "first parents" created by God as male and female, both sinned and disobeyed God. In one strange paragraph, the pope calls the human being, man — man and woman — as the "author of the evil of sin," which needs some explanation. Is man or woman the author of the evil of sin? I do not think so. They are the victims of the Evil One, as the pope writes in other parts of his letter. Also, I see here with great pleasure, that the pope accepts the basic Orthodox anthropological doctrine that the original sin did not destroy the image and likeness of God in man, but it obscured and diminished it (p. 36).

Then the pope interprets the difficult verse of Genesis 3.16, "Your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you," by saying that "dominion" indicates "the disturbance and loss of stability of that fundamental equality which the man and the woman possess in the 'unity of two.' And this is especially to the disadvantage of woman,

whereas only the equality resulting from their dignity as persons can give to their mutual relationship the character of an authentic "Communion personarum" (p. 38). The pope is mindful of the recent debates on "women's rights," and he rejects any kind of "masculinization" of women which will eventually deform and lose what constitutes their essential richness" (pp. 39-40).

Especially in the framework of the New Testament the woman finds her real role and important position, because in the Old Testament, in order for God to make his covenant with humanity, he addressed himself only to men: Noah, Abraham, and Moses. In the New Covenant, the new beginning takes place with a woman, the woman of the Annunciation at Nazareth (p. 42). Therefore, in Mary, "Eve discovers the nature of the true dignity of woman, of feminine humanity. This discovery must continually reach the heart of every woman and shape her vocation and her life" (p. 45).

I think the pope with admiration and exhilaration writes how Christ gave a new meaning for the life, dignity, and vocation of women. He calls Christ the *promoter* of women's true dignity (p. 46), and enumerates all the instances in which Christ met, discussed and advised women, or was followed by women. Christ, in reality, "liberated women" by his truth. Women thus felt the eternal love of God in Christ for now they could discuss the most profound mysteries of God with him (p. 55). Mary Magdalene is called, "the apostle of the Apostles"; she was the first eyewitness of the risen Christ. This proves the fact that being man or woman involves no limitation. Just as the salvific and sanctifying action of the Spirit in man in no way is limited by the fact that one is Jew, or a Greek, slave or free . . . "for you are all one in Christ Jesus. . ." (Gal 3.28, p. 60).

In a long and important chapter the pope discusses the importance of motherhood and virginity as special gifts to women. The history of every human being passes through the threshold of a woman's motherhood (p. 68). Virginity is superior to marriage. The Church and the Mother of God,

being models of this virginity, have kept pure their fidelity to the only true spouse, Jesus Christ our Lord (p. 77). The Pope speaks of the "innovation" of the Gospel in the fact that in Christian marriage there is a mutual subjection of the spouses out of reverence for Christ (p. 84). Moreover, "masculinity and femininity are distinct, yet at the same time they complete and explain each other" (p. 87).

What about the fact that only male apostles have been called to serve as apostles and priests and celebrants of the Eucharist? He rejects the idea that this has been done in conformity to the prevailing customs and traditions sanctioned by the legislation of the times. Simply, Christ in calling only men as his apostles acted in a completely free and sovereign manner (p. 88). In the Eucharist we can see the close relation of bridegroom and bride, Christ and his Church, man and woman, the masculine and the feminine. Thus the universality of the priesthood of both man and woman is affirmed, and thus holy women are the incarnation of the feminine ideal, and they are the models for all Christians (p. 94). In addition, in God's eternal plan, woman is the one in whom the order of love in the created world of persons takes first roots (p. 96). To women God entrusts the accomplishment of the royal priesthood and this is one of the most important facts, for in the women the Church gives thanks for all the manifestations of the feminine genius, and for all the fruits of feminine holiness (p. 104).

This is a brief analysis of the pope's *Apostolic Letter On the Dignity and the Vocation of Women*. I must say, however, that it is not an easy document to read. One can feel the struggle of the pope to substantiate his belief that men and women are equal theologically, historically, and biologically. On this point, he succeeded, there is no question about that. Probably a more lucid use of the fathers of the East would have helped him to be more effective in his effort. He rather hastily touches upon the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood. Apparently, he follows his predecessor, Pope Paul VI, here. He did not want to break new ground; he is a con-

servative. Most Orthodox theologians would have agreed with him, at least in the context of defining the equality of men and women. The Orthodox would also agree with him, that they will not accept women into the priesthood, only into the office of deaconess. On the other hand, women participate as "readers" in the Roman Catholic Mass, to the credit of the present bishop of Rome. It is my opinion, that Roman Catholics and Orthodox will have to learn much from each other.

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The Formation of Christendom. By Judith Herrin. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. Pp. x + 530. \$34.95.

This excellently written and beautifully produced book is a major contribution to the study of late antiquity and the early middle ages. Christendom is defined as the Christianized Mediterranean world from Diocletian's reign to the mid-ninth century, with the emphasis on the period between 550 and 850. The author's aim is to present a "fresh investigation" of the transformation of the ancient world under the impact of the Christian faith which is analyzed not in terms and features of ecclesiastical history but as a material force able to hold together and renew a society particularly in times of political failure and economic crisis. Dr. Herrin believes that ideology rather than economic and political events determines the transition from one culture to another.

In three compact parts, divided into twelve chapters, the book reviews the culture of late antiquity which contributed to the survival of Greco-Roman traditions, the impact of the barbaric invasions, the modes of integration between Romans and non-Romans primarily in the Latin West, the consolidation of barbarian assimilation there, and Justinian's failed efforts to reunite East and West. Justinian's use of force to achieve his goal contributed to the disintegration rather than

the unity of the Mediterranean world. Notwithstanding the decline of ancient forms of government, features of Greco-Roman civilization, and the growth of Christianity, economic, social, religious (pagan) and artistic aspects of classical civilization survived.

Christian influence affected several norms and components of the civilization of both Greek East and Latin West, and the tension between Christian scripture and profane learning was even present at least up to the early sixth century — especially in the West. The decline of Greek learning there made Christian bishops press for conformity while the continuity of the Greek language in the East contributed not only to the study of Greek philosophy and learning but also the preservation of other forms of the classical heritage. Greek learning was employed by the Eastern Church Fathers in their effort to elaborate and analyze systems of Christian belief and mystery. Thus Constantinople ultimately became the only obvious place for those with talents and skills and for this reason it became a city resented and even hated by the Westerners.

In her treatment of Christianity's development in both East and West, Professor Herrin seeks to preserve a balance and presents a holistic picture even though an exception is made in her discussion of Gregory the Great's achievements in the West.

Since much of the book is interpretive, differences of opinion on a number of topics are inevitable. For example, whether the Christian disunity which broke out in the eleventh century should be traced to the seventh century, rather than the fourth or the ninth is debatable. Whether Constantine's elevation to the position of a saint must be attributed to Eusebios' *Life of Constantine* and his eulogistic *Triakontaeterikos* or some other reason is also subject to discussion. It seems to me that what contributed to the elevation to sainthood not only of Constantine but also of several other Emperors (Theodosios I, Theodosios II, Markianos, Pulcheria, Justinian I, Justinian II, Irene the Athenian) was the role they

had played in the convocation of ecumenical synods and the respect they earned as “protectors” (*prostatae*) of Orthodoxy.

Throughout this wide-ranging and greatly original work, Professor Herrin has presented the Byzantine Empire as the essential political, religious, and cultural power in the development not only of Western Christendom but also of Islam. It was because of Byzantium that Islam’s challenges to Christendom were frustrated and ultimately the efforts of the Caliphs to claim the whole Mediterranean failed.

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Encounters and Clashes. Islam and Christianity in History. By Jean-Marie Gaudel. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e Islamici, 1984. Volume 1: A Survey (Pp. 338 + Bibliography and Index); Volume 2: Texts (Pp. 373 + Bibliography and a chart of Themes and Topics). Paper, mimeographed.

It is never late to introduce a book of this nature, especially since it has not been publicized widely. Although surveys of Muslim-Christian relations in words and in action are not rare, the field is widely broad and much of its material remains still uncultivated. Included in these two volumes are several well known authors and texts, from East and West, but also other less known sources from both sides of the encounter, Christians (Byzantines, Melchites, Monophysites, Nestorians) and Muslims (Sunni and Shi’a), from the seventh to the twentieth century. This aspect makes the book a rich compendium of information for the novice student, and often for the specialist. It is only unfortunate that it is still in a provisional mimeographed form.

The author, a former parish priest in an (unidentified) African country, makes a disclaimer in the Foreword that the book “is neither a work of scholarly research nor a practical

guide for missionaries in the field. It stands rather at the articulation for these two disciplines: History of Religions and Pastoral Reflection" (p. ii). This modest claim notwithstanding, the book is a useful manual on the history of Muslim-Christian relations. Much of the information is given as notes in point-form. However, given the number of authors and primary sources offered here in translation, with the Arabic original for some of the texts printed on the juxtaposed page, the one hundred and eighty-one title bibliography, and a comprehensive index, the book makes for a helpful reference and a welcome addition to the growing literature in a field which necessarily needs to be studied in depth and enhanced.

The two volumes are meant to be read simultaneously, especially since the author has divided the second volume of samples of texts into two sections, a Historical Survey and a Thematic Study, and not all the texts adhere to a chronological order. In many ways the two volumes are overlapping each other, as the first volume gives only a summary of a text in point-form and the second volume offers its full version.

The study of authors and texts from both Eastern and Western Medieval Christianity demonstrates some very distinct attitudes and differences between the two traditions of Christianity towards Islam in style, intention, and content. In general, the Eastern authors appear apologetic in character, deal with specific issues, show a direct and more comprehensive awareness of Islam, and at times are intentionally conciliatory and eirinic, concerned with developing good everyday human relations. Western writers appear to be more pietistic, treating Islam and even Christianity in platitudes, pleading for conversion, characterizing Islam as a demonic invention, and, generally, show a fundamental ignorance of the Arab mentality and sensitivities. The texts reveal also interesting different theological approaches between Orthodox and non-Orthodox (Nestorian and non-Chalcedonian) writers, as well as between writings originating

from areas which were former Byzantine territories conquered by the Arabs, and writings produced outside the borders of Islam, from the safety of the Byzantine imperial protection, or from the safety of the Western Christian conclave. Contrasts, however, between these two kinds of literature are not always glaring. More often than not, one encounters in both a similar line of thinking: Islam is fundamentally contrary to Christianity; there is not much common ground between the two religious traditions, even when the best gloss is applied to the picture; the Muslims *must* be converted to Christianity, even by force . . . Most texts reveal that very little effort was made on the part of the various authors to challenge their opponents to articulate the essence of their religions, either Christianity or Islam, or to show signs of empathy towards each other's religion as a conviction of faith and a way of life. Not too much progress can be recorded in the subsequent periods from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. The cases of an enlightened and inquisitive approach towards, and of a meaningful dialogue about, the essentials of each other's faith are rare.

This is one of the most painful lessons that one learns from the study of the history of Muslim-Christian relations. And this is the record of history that the students of Muslim-Christian relations are called to improve, for the benefit of their own and for that of the later generations.

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The Icon: Image of the Invisible: Elements of Theology, Aesthetics and Technique. By Egon Sendler, S.J. Trans. Steve Bigham. Redondo Beach, CA: Oakwood Publications, 1988. Pp. 282.

Originally published in French under the title *L' Icône: Image de l' Invisible* and later issued in both German and Spanish editions, this very fine book has now been beautifully translated into English. The author is himself an iconographer.

This book is comprehensive in several respects. The first part is a study of the origin, history, and theology of Orthodox iconography. Included here, among other things, is an overview of the influence of Judaism on early Christianity's attitudes towards religious images, as well as the immediate and long-term effect of confrontations with the *Weltanschauungen* of pagan Greece and Rome on these attitudes.

Father Sendler then considers the nascent iconography of the catacombs where, he explains, much ancient, pagan symbolism was refashioned and transformed to express Christian teaching. He proceeds to the controversies created by the Iconoclastic heresy and the Orthodox response to it, which finally led to the careful elucidation of the theology of the Icon.

In his discussion of the theology of the Icon, the author generally avoids the simplification and distortions which disfigure some other works produced by non-Orthodox (and even some Orthodox) writers. Rather, he centers on the writings of the Holy Fathers, especially those of Saint Nikephoros of Constantinople, Saint Theodore the Studite, and Saint John of Damascus.

Significantly, Father Sendler sees the art of the sacred Icon as a "Byzantine language," reflecting Byzantine society and its historical, philosophical, cultural, and spiritual outlook. With time, he contends, it is true that other races inherited this uniquely Christian art form from the missionaries who brought Orthodoxy to Eastern Europe: and unquestionably, these peoples imparted to it some of the special characteristics of their own cultures. Iconography nevertheless remains Byzantine and is symbolic of the transcendent unity of the Byzantine world.

The second part of the book is a study of iconography from the standpoint of its aesthetic aspects. A very informative text on theories of proportion, structure, geometry, symmetry, and perspective is supplemented and illustrated by diagrammatical apparatus placed side-by-side with, or superimposed over, a number of well-known icons.

The final section of the book contains an impressive survey of the traditional techniques involved in the painting of Orthodox Icons. This is a very practical section of the book, intended to assist those who are interested in pursuing this art in depth. We read of methods for selecting and preparing wood, fabric, paint and other materials and for making basic drawings. The author discusses layering techniques, hatching lines, the development of proper skin tones, the use of shading and lighting, finishing, and other such essentials. There is a very nice chapter on inscriptions and charts displaying Greek and Slavonic iconographic alphabets, along with frequently-used abbreviations and inscriptions.

The book contains a large number of illustrations and thirty-six color plates of high quality.

There is a wide array of information in this volume — particularly technical information — , much of which is unavailable elsewhere in our language. Its potential value to the iconographer may be judged from the fact that it is being offered in a serviceable spiral-bound edition, along with the hardbound version.

The author, the translator, and the publishers of *The Icon: Image of the Invisible* all deserve our congratulations for making it accessible to English-speaking Orthodox Christians.

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The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church. By Jaroslav Pelikan. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987, Pp. 133, \$18.95.

How one reads history is as much a matter of faith as of the facts. Furthermore, the vision and sweep of history given by one's faith directs the historian to those facts that are to be considered relevant. In tracing the history of the Roman Empire, and especially the transition between pagan

Rome and Christian East and West, one often sees mirrored an anthropology, ecclesiology and understanding of the creative source of the universe. Certainly this is the case with Edward Gibbon's 18th century classic.

This volume is Pelikan's dialogue with Gibbon about the interpretation of this history. Needless to say, Pelikan's conclusion is "The Social Triumph of the Ancient Church" rather than Gibbon's "The Triumph of Barbarism and Religion." For that reason, the discussion is as much an insight into the Enlightenment, faith, and prejudice of the eighteenth century as it is into the first millenium of Christianity and its predecessor cultures. While the author is a Christian, he is more self-critical than was the original Gibbon, and for that reason more modest in his claims and affirmations.

This book is the product of the Rauschenbush Lectures, and is an ironic tribute to that social gospel tradition that gave so little attention to history, particularly patristic and confessional history. It may very well be that more discussions among Christians concerning the social context of the emergence of the classical formulations of the Apostolic Faith and the cultural world that formed these Fathers of the Church will lead to deeper insights. These insights can enrich not only the creedal understandings of the faith once delivered to the apostles and those who confess it, but also can inform our action in the world so that again the "social triumph" of Christian values may influence the world as a place where justice and peace are nurtured.

The debates of the eighteenth century were between secularist and Orthodox Christians of various traditions. Today the interpretation of this history is controverted by Christians among themselves. This study will be an engaging contribution to these discussions, and hopefully draw the reader beyond superficial preconceptions about history and about those who live by fidelity to Christ's revelation, to a more critical and therefore more reconciling approach to the Church in time and space.

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The Legitimacy of the Modern Age. By Hans Blumenberg. Trans. Robert N. Wallace. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1983. Pp. 674. \$15.00, paper.

Reading Hans Blumenberg's book is like reading a detective story which does not give the reader enough evidence to discover the villain. However, the resemblance lies in the frustration. For in this case we know the villains but are unsure of the crime. The core of his task in legitimizing the modern age involves proving that modernity overcomes gnosticism where scholasticism failed. He argues to establish that modernity *is* legitimate, versus Löwith and others who would claim it is a deception, and yet never renders clear *why* modernity overcomes gnosticism.

Perhaps, at this point, the Orthodox theologian may believe the arguments are just an issue for social historians and/or a *western* debate which we should avoid. The Orthodox, however, must now deal with western history and thought. From Soviet Russia to Socialist Greece to the United States there is no land where the Orthodox are removed from western thought. Yet, to say we must have Orthodox scholars knowledgeable about this history is not to say definitive answers and treatises must be written about every possible facet. Since the history from scholasticism to modernity affects the Orthodox we must be aware of that tradition. (A clear example of this is the problem of human rights. One hears the term used by Orthodox; even by those who are anti-western; yet it is not clear why we should agree with the political and theological implications contained in such a theory.¹) To be sure these are problems of external philo-

¹ This is not taking a stand against classical liberalism but rather pointing out an issue which has entered into our speech without sufficient

sophy, yet at times they have entered surreptitiously into internal philosophy, and clearly as such should not be a prime focus of any Orthodox believer. Yet some work must be done in order to examine the presuppositions of modern schools of thought which enter into Orthodox thinking.

What then is the problem of modernity? Surely no Orthodox scholar has not heard of some participants in the arguments. The schools of classical liberalism, the Heideggerian position of post-modernity, the Straussians, like Allan Bloom, the Marxists, all have sharply different views on the history of western man. Before any of us champion one over another we must understand what the debate entails. Most if not all sides agree that the crisis of modernity arose when the Enlightenment failed to fulfill its promises. What makes this debate most difficult for the Orthodox is that this is the time in which our tradition has been most affected by the West. That is, for the West, the Enlightenment can be seen as a culmination of a long historical thread going from Socrates to Bacon. However, for the Orthodox many of these periods of history held little internal importance. The best example is the Reformation.

Some, such as Heidegger, have argued that the entire western tradition is flawed.² Others will claim that some elements which we cherish must be maintained, while still throwing out modernity. Most who argue for some version of post-modernity ruthlessly attack the Enlightenment's equation of history with progress. Some Christian thinkers, and in particular Carl Löwith,³ have argued that progress is a secularization of Christian Eschatology. If this view reveals

inquiry.

²Since he starts out with Ancient Greece we are included in parts that are discarded.

³Wallace defends Blumenberg against Löwith in his article, "Progress, Secularization and Modernity: the Löwith/Blumenberg debate," *New German Critique* 22 (1981): 63-79. (Note: whether one agrees with Wallace or not this article is most helpful in elucidating the debate.)

the truth then modernity has no legitimate grounding for itself. Blumenberg counters all these with his own work. In particular he argues against Löwith and the notion that modernity is based on a secularization of eschatology. Indeed, Blumenberg takes up the rare notion, in our times, that not only is modernity a unique and genuine change but it is also better.⁴

When the first edition came out Blumenberg was criticized by a diverse group of thinkers. The English translation by Wallace begins with Blumenberg's replies to these attacks. Further, this section includes his critique of secularization. (Some readers, not being familiar with current intellectual trends on the continent, may find this section a little tedious. I would recommend reading only the sections dealing with secularization to every reader for a first reading anyhow.) First, let us examine his arguments concerning secularization.

Blumenberg concentrates his arguments upon Löwith's critique of modernity. Löwith set out to show that modernity's theories of history originate from Christian sources.⁵ Blumenberg avoids the frontal assault and attempts to outflank Löwith. First he argues that Christianity secularized itself when Christ's return was not immediately forthcoming. The following attempts to reconcile Christian existence with the world Blumenberg portrays as "Secularization by Eschatology." Further, he argues, this step brings irreversible change. In eschatology, salvation is obtained from without whereas in progress the "salvation" emerges from within. Yet, even if *we* accept this argument, Löwith and his thesis remain intact. All Löwith requires is showing that our notion of history has Christian roots. Oddly enough, Blumenberg agrees. He attempts to de-Christianize modernity's notion

⁴Yet, while he fully addresses why modernity is unique, he fails the legitimacy question, by omitting to show why it is better. (Hence the detective story analogy.)

⁵His most readable book, and luckily most pertinent to this theme, is *Meaning in History*.

of history. That is, although the roots of modernity lie in Christianity the emergence of modernity so revolutionizes thought that the roots can be discarded. Further, if modernity does imitate and try to replace a Christian meaning of history with a secular one it is merely "re-occupying" a space of antiquated baggage.

Before moving on to the original text some remark upon the rebuttals will be useful. Although interesting, still, at times, he seems to hedge his bets. For example, he places too great an importance upon Tertullian as a key figure of the Christian tradition. That is, since he reads the early Christian writers with an agenda, he maintains that his selection of authors constitutes *the* tradition of Christian thought. This prevents viewing the diversity of thought present to that age.⁶

At other times, he seems unwilling to face attacks fully. A most prominent example is Blumenberg's treatment of Kant. As Kant is a key figure in the modernity vs. post-modernity argument,⁷ we should expect Blumenberg to give detailed arguments concerning his reading of Kant. He avoids doing this. For example, although Blumenberg mentions Husserl he does not take on Husserl's critique of Kant. On page 88 he asserts that after Kant, dogmatism ceases to exist in philosophy. For a Husserlian phenomenologist this is absurd. Kant, according to Husserl, dogmatically accepted the results of science and thus never justified the scientific enterprise.⁸ (Of course even modern day Kantians have had

⁶One author who admires the early fathers, and most interestingly enough for their philosophical thought alone, is Richard Sorabji. His works such as *Necessity, Cause, and Blame: Perspectives on Aristotle's Theory* and *Time, Space and the Continuum* show the importance of these men not only for philosophical history, but, also for current philosophical problems.

⁷While sometimes both sides claim to be Kantian, nonetheless they also both criticize much of his work and influence. Cf. David Ingram, "The Postmodern Kantianism of Arendt and Lyotard," *Review of Metaphysics* 42 (September 1988) pp. 51-77.

⁸Kant provides us with a key work to understanding the Enlighten-

problems with Kant where he assumes Euclidian geometry to be not only true but incorporates this geometry in his epistemology.)

The main portion of the text begins with an analysis of Gnosticism. Blumenberg takes the incredible view that modernity overcomes Gnosticism⁹ where scholasticism not only failed but did so necessarily. He believes Gnosticism is the most difficult heresy for Christianity. Part of his argument we can put aside quite easily for he believes gnostics such as Marcion are more consistent with early Christianity and does not provide any convincing arguments for this view. Yet, on the other hand, the problem of Gnosticism is not to be taken lightly. In his critique of scholasticism, Blumenberg oddly resembles some Russian theologians such as Paul Evdokimov (whose help Blumenberg would not relish as he wishes this to be a critique not only of scholasticism but of all Christianity.) In the medieval ages the problem of evil and God's omnipotence became acute: If God is omnipotent and is the creator of all beings, why is there evil? Augustine attacked dualism by attributing all evil actions as coming from man and his freedom.

However, Blumenberg reveals that this solution was costly. By late scholasticism, any order to the world was seen as limiting God's omnipotence. (See for example William of Ockham.¹⁰) Blumenberg's account of Descartes' resolution

ment, namely, *On Perpetual Peace*. Further, while Kant believes only science contains truth Husserl attacks this notion vigorously. Husserl should be of interest to the Orthodox for he argues, against the Kantian tradition, that there is truth in perception. Something which of course is dear to us because of our love and veneration of icons.

⁹Those who view modernity as permeated with Gnosticism should read Voeglin's *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism*. Voeglin, an author I cannot help but recommend to the Orthodox, does not let the Medieval Age off the hook for Gnosticism, cf. *Order and History* the volume entitled *The Ecumenical Age*, but does see the problem of Gnosticism as far more acute for modernity.

¹⁰A good overview of his thought is in Étienne Gilson's *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*.

of this problem is most enlightening, however much one may disagree in detail. Descartes, according to Blumenberg, was forced to master nature in order to give certain knowledge of the material world. But was this development necessary? According to Blumenberg, yes. In fact, he holds that, not only did Christianity generate the problems necessary for the emergence of modernity, but others, such as the early Greeks, could not.

In Blumenberg's account of necessity in history he follows the Marxist tradition. He does not, however, emphasize the economic aspect of Marxist history.¹¹ Changes in history are understood as solving contradictions in a specific way. Both the contradictions *and* the solutions are unique. Further, we may note that qua Marxism, Blumenberg covers the history of modernity much better than most Marxists.¹² Further, one may critique this dialectical approach in the following way: one may agree with Blumenberg's analysis in so far as it sheds light on a tendency of some Christian history, but if we hold this tendency to be an aberration then the Christian option remains valid. For Blumenberg this is not possible. (This is why he would not welcome the Russian theologian's help.)

Let us now return to the text. Blumenberg continues, after examining the Greeks, by explaining that whereas the Christians held theoretical curiosity to be a crime, modernity comes along and liberates theoretical curiosity. The Christian response to this accusation should be familiar to all. Holding that the Christian life should be centered upon Christ does not exclude theoretical concerns such as science, etc. What is often overlooked is the shape and demeanor of science in the time of early Christianity.¹³ Furthermore, he fails to

¹¹Engels himself believed the economic aspect of Marxism was overemphasized. Cf. Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Translated by Dona Torr (International Publishers, 1942) p. 477.

¹²Cf. Adorno and Horkheimer, *The Dialectic of the Enlightenment*. They explain the Enlightenment in its own terms, thus failing to show what contradictions generated the period.

¹³Cf. *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* by Franz Cumont.

take up those Church fathers, such as Saint Basil in the *Hexaemeron*, who tried to reconcile the fruits of scientific research and scripture.

Nonetheless, Blumenberg does give Christianity a role in the development of modern science. He claims the Christian assault on theoretical curiosity set the stage for its liberation. Accordingly, what is at issue is whether theoretical curiosity is to be valued for its own sake. Blumenberg opposes those, such as Descartes, who gave pragmatic reasons for theoretical curiosity. Blumenberg sees this as a limitation upon theoretical curiosity. Yet, it seems odd to have scientific knowledge pursued for no other reason than freedom to pursue such knowledge. The freedom for the pursuit of scientific knowledge should necessarily be purposeful freedom. Whether the virtues obtained through this freedom are to be theoretical or practical Blumenberg omits. Because he never shows what is at stake in liberating theoretical curiosity, Blumenberg cannot show how modernity benefits us. Further, this omission prevents us from seeing why he believes modernity overcomes gnosticism.

Hopefully, through this examination, it is now clear to the reader how much is at stake in such debates. To be sure, working through the tangles of current debates entails much work, both spiritual and intellectual, yet the importance should encourage our fortitude. This very work exemplifies the necessity of caution. At no point in the book does Blumenberg claim to be a Marxist. Only by reading slowly and carefully all the details does the structure of dialectical Marxism show itself. On the other hand, in face of such work, we should not despair. The works of the early fathers speak much of similar troubles. We have those works which can guide us to the truth and those saints to whom we can pray for help. Further, if we never forget to place our faith in Christ, we will work hard to avoid permitting current debates to enter, unwittingly, into our internal philosophy.

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Principles of Catholic Theology: Building Stones for a Fundamental Theology. By Joseph Ratzinger. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987. Pp. 398.

The author is better known for his institutional role than for his sound theological explorations. However one might feel about the office he holds and his exercise of it, his theological contribution remains an important factor in the present articulation of the faith once delivered to the apostles. This volume, drawn from work done over several years and originally appearing in various places, presents a coherent and impressive work both as a Roman Catholic contribution to the search for unity in the one orthodox faith and as a barometer and participating voice in the vital internal debates within the Roman Catholic community. For those who feel that Catholicism has lost its moorings in the Apostolic Faith or that theological issues can be reduced to mere concerns for institutional claims and social control, this will be a useful corrective.

The title is somewhat deceptive, since this is not a "fundamental theology" in the abstract. Indeed, most of its elements have been occasioned by the present context — ecumenical, theological or social, in which Roman Catholicism feels it has fundamental principles at stake. The author covers a wide range of what he calls formal principles, including the nature of faith, its structure and content; scripture and tradition, and faith and history; the structure of theology and the role of anthropological elements. A major section is devoted to the principles of Christianity as Catholicism brings them into the present ecumenical disputes. There is a brief and very personal epilogue which gives his perspective on what has happened since the Vatican Council (1966). It is this last which discloses his somewhat negative assessment of theological developments over the last twenty years, and his weakness in the experience of pastoral renewal around the world.

The ecumenical section carries his well-known observations on several issues, and the reasoning he brings to them.

His perspective on the prospects for Orthodox-Roman Catholic reunion, and the dangers of the early euphoria also include his present position on the thesis that Roman Catholics must not press the developments since 1054 on their Orthodox partners. This section also contains his reflections on the widely discussed proposal that the Lutheran Augsburg Confession could be recognized by Roman Catholics as an authentic expression of the Catholic faith. An extensive treatment of priesthood and tradition and their relationship within the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is an important contribution, though contrasting dramatically with both Orthodox and even quite irenic Protestant ecclesiology. In this section some of his limitations of experience and sensitivity mar the genuine and careful search for a common basis in truth on which the ecumenical movement can proceed.

Of particular importance are his discussions of creedal formulation; the ecumenical use of patristics; and suggested avenues for transcending Western scholasticism, without abandoning the authentic Roman Catholic development. His discussions of Augustinian influences in Western ecclesiology are particularly useful, especially as the questions of the human elements and reformability of the Church enter into the ecumenical debate.

From reading this volume one evaluates the particular theological judgments and one senses the complexity and richness of Catholicism's commitment to theological fidelity. While it is frustrating to hear all of the voices in this theological world, we have here an author who is struggling to avoid the pitfalls of a stagnant integralism and developments which depart from authentic continuity.

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National Council of Churches

†Ioannes Anastasiou (1918-1987)

A NATIVE OF IOANNINA, EPIROS, GREECE WHERE HE RECEIVED his early education, Ioannes Anastasiou graduated from the famous Zosimaia High School and entered the School of Theology of the University of Athens from where he was graduated with a Licencia in Theology in 1940.

For a period of time, he taught in secondary education and at the Paidagogical Academy of Florina. Later he did graduate studies in England and Germany. Returning to Greece, he received his Doctorate in Theology from the University of Athens in 1959. The title of his dissertation was: "The Paulicians, History and Teaching from Their Origins to Modern Times."

In the same year he began teaching Church History at the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonike. In 1962, he became a full professor.

Dr. Anastasiou wrote numerous books, articles, and studies, among which are the following: *The Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple: History, Iconography and Hymnography of the Feast* (Thessalonike, 1959); *Justin the Philosopher and Martyr on the Ancient World*, (Thessalonike, 1959); *The Paulicians in the Balkans during the Period of the Tourkokratia* (Thessalonike, 1960); *Presuppositions of the Reformation of the English Church* (Thessalonike, 1961); *The History of the Church* (Thessalonike: 1963); and, *Sources for the History of the Church*. 2 vols. (Thessalonike, 1986).

Professor Anastasiou represented the Greek Orthodox Church of Greece in numerous ecumenical conclaves and

international conferences. He was a strong advocate of the ecumenical movement and a committed Orthodox Christian. He was also a visiting professor at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

All who knew Professor Ioannes Anastasiou were spiritually enriched by his pleasing personality and strong commitment to Orthodoxy.

May his memory be eternal.

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Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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CONTRIBUTORS

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Book Notes

VASIL T. ISTAVRIDIS

Θεολογικοί διάλογοι. Μία Ὁρθόδοξος προοπτική (Διάλογος, ἀρ. 1. Μελέται καί κείμενα περί τῶν σχέσεων Ὁρθοδοξίας καί Δύσεως) [Theological Dialogues. An Orthodox Perspective. (Dialogue, no. 1. Studies and Documents concerning the Relations of Orthodoxy and the West)]. By Damaskenos [Metropolitan] of Switzerland. Geneva: n.p., 1987. Pp. 355. Paper.

The author, a metropolitan of the church of Constantinople, director of the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Chambesy, Switzerland, and director (secretary) of the secretariate for the preparation of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church, examines the historical, pastoral, and ecclesiological aspects of the dialogues.

In the second part, he offers for the first time a collection of the main official documents dealing with the bilateral dialogues in which Orthodoxy is engaged.

Ἡ νῆσος Ἰμβρος. Συμβολή εἰς τήν ἐκκλησιαστικήν ἱστορίαν της. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 48. [The Island of Imvros. A Contribution to its Ecclesiastical History. *Analecta Vlatadon*, 48]. By Meliton Karas. Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1986. Pp. 490. Maps, icons, and photographs. Paper.

The author, chief secretary of the Holy Synod of the church of Constantinople, examines the history of the island,

the appearance and development of Christianity there, the evolution of the diocese of Imvros, as well as its spiritual and educational heritage.

The author offers the texts of important documents relevant to the history of Imvros, as well as the most up to date episcopal list.

Οἰκουμενική κίνηση. Ἱστορία-θεολογία. (Φιλοσοφική καὶ Θεολογική Βιβλιοθήκη, ἀριθ. 4.) [Ecumenical Movement. History-Theology. Philosophical and Theological Library, No. 4]. By Nikos A. Matsoukas. Thessalonike: Pournaras, 1986. Pp. 339. Paper.

The author draws much material from two of his previous books: *Protestantism* (Thessalonike, 1978) and *The Contribution of the Orthodox Church in the Field of the Ecumenical Movement* (Thessalonike, 1979) without failing to add much new material.

Ἱερά Θεολογική Σχολή τῆς Χάλκης, Ἱστορία, ἀρχιτεκτονική. [The Theological School of Chalke. History, Architecture]. By Aristeides Pasadaios. Athens: Publications of the Holy Metropolis of Switzerland, 1987. Pp. 370. Illustrated. Paper.

The author, an emeritus professor of Christian architecture at the Patriarchal School (1947-1971), offers us a historical review of the history of the School and a thorough examination of its architecture. The volume includes copious maps, sketches, and architectural plans.

Οἰκουμενικά Ἀνάλεκτα. Συμβολή στήν ἱστορία τοῦ Παγκοσμίου Συμβουλίου τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν [Ecumenical Analecta. A Contribution to the History of the World Council of Churches]. By George Tsetses. Katerine: Tertios, 1987. Pp. 218. Illustrated. Paper.

Father George Tsetses is the permanent delegate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the secretariate of the World Council of Churches.

The book is based on much material previously published by the author with some new materials and perceptive insights. The Orthodox presence at the WCC is examined, an evaluation of BEM is offered, and the work of two significant personalities, Patriarch Athenagoras and Archbishop Iakovos (as metropolitan of Melita), is discussed.

Ἡ Μητρόπολις Κολωνείας [The Metropolis of Koloneia]. By Gabriel Premetides. Thessalonike: n.p., 1987. Pp. 223 + photographs and maps. Paper.

Metropolitan Gabriel traces the history of his see from its earliest history to the present day.

A bishopric in the fourth century, Koloneia became a metropolis in the eleventh century, an archbishopric in the fourteenth, and a metropolis once more in the nineteenth century.

Ἐκκλησιαστική ἱστορία. Ἡ μοναχική πολιτεία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους — Ἱστορία, τυπικά, ζωή [Church History. The Monastic State of Mount Athos: History, Typika, Life]. By Athanasios A. Angelopoulos with the collaboration of Theochares A. Moysides and Themistokles Ch. Zacharengas. Thessalonike: Kyriakides Brothers, 1987. Pp. 229 + maps, icons, and photographs. Paper.

The book examines the geography, history, and life of Mount Athos.

The author argues for a more thorough study of the archival material found on the Holy Mountain. In addition, he stresses the canonical, ecclesiastical, and spiritual relations that bind Mount Athos with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Ἡ Φλαγγίνειος Σχολή τῆς Βενετίας [The Phlanginian School of Venice]. By Athanasios E. Karathanasis. 2nd ed. Thessalonike: Kyriakides Brothers, 1986. Pp. viii, 396 + photographs. Paper.

The Phlanginian School of Venice was founded by Thomas Phlanginis (1579-1648), a wealthy lawyer who sought thereby to prepare scholars to teach and cultivate Greek letters among the Greek Orthodox Christians, and to prepare educated young men for careers in the Greek Orthodox Church who would be able to counter papal propaganda.

Νῆσος Ἐγατεινή [Island of Fascination]. By Anonymous. New York: Alumni Association of Chalke "Saint Photios," 1986. Pp. 80 + photographs and icons. Paper.

The Island of "Fascination" refers to the island of Chalke, the site of the Patriarchal School of Theology of the Holy Trinity.

The book bears the character of a festschrift offered to Archbishop Iakovos (an alumnus of the School) on his seventy-fifth birthday.

Twenty-three alumni contribute to the volume which includes a complete list of alumni, both living and dead. Of these, seventy have served the Church in the United States in various capacities.

Σύγχρονες αἱρέσεις καὶ «θρησκευτικά» κινήματα στὴν Ἑλλάδα [Modern Heresies and "Religious" Movements in Greece]. By Antonios M. Papadopoulos. Thessalonike: P. Pournaras, 1987. Pp. 296. Illustrated.

The author teaches at the School of Theology of the Aristoteilian University of Thessalonike.

In his study he examines the Evangelicals, Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, and a number of other religious groups and sects that have invaded Greece.

Book Notes

GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU

Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ πηγή τῆς ζωῆς κατὰ τόν Μ. Ἀθανάσιον [The Logos of God as the Source of Life according to St. Athanasios the Great]. By Gerasimos-Chrysostom Zaphiris. Athens: Theologia, 1984. Pp. 61. Paper.

The present study was originally a series of lectures given in Alexandria, Egypt in 1974, celebrating the 1600th anniversary of the death of Saint Athanasios. The author discusses the attributes of the Logos; the world and man in accordance to the thought of Saint Athanasios; the Logos of God as the source of life and resurrection; and God as the creator of life and man's participation in the divine life through the Logos. This is a well-documented work by a first-rate scholar who is a professor at the University of Athens.

Τό ιδεῶδες τῆς παιδείας [The Ideal of Education]. By Evangelos D. Theodorou. Athens: Ph. Tsironis Press, 1985. Pp. 69. Paper.

The present study deals with education as an anthropological phenomenon as it affects the socio-ethical-religious formation of society. In addition, the author discusses education and the Orthodox Church and the liturgical life as a foundation for Orthodox Christian formation. It includes a useful bibliography for further study.

Ίστορία της Θάσου (1453-1912). Μακεδονική Βιβλιοθήκη, αρ. 64. [History of Thassos, 1453-1912. Macedonian Library, No. 64]. By Apost. E. Bakalopoulos. Thessalonike: Έταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 1984. Pp. 190. Paper.

The well-known Greek historian presents the history of the island of Thassos under Turkish occupation. Dr. Bakalopoulos documents the religious, educational, economic, and cultural activities of the people on the island during the Turkish subjugation of the Greek nation. The book contains much unpublished and much hitherto unknown material of the Greek life under the Turks and Egyptians. There is also a French edition.

Ἡ Φιλοσοφία τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ Κάρλ Μάρξ [The Philosophy of Religion according to Karl Marx]. By Evangelos D. Theodorou. Athens: Theologia. 1985. Pp. 102. Paper.

Professor Theodorou analyzes Marx's philosophy of religion from a religious perspective. He reflects on the influences on Marx by Hegel, Feuerbach, and the socio-political conditions of the time, and discusses Marx's polemical attitude toward religion.

Ἡ θέση τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας στόν σύγχρονο χριστιανικό κόσμο [The Position of Orthodoxy in the Contemporary World]. By Chrysostom Constantinides. Athens: Έκκλησιαστικόν, Ἐπιστημονικόν καί Μορφωτικόν Ἰδρυμα Ἰωάννου καί Ἐριέττης Γρηγορίου 1985. Pp. 31.

Metropolitan Chrysostom Constantinides of Myra is internationally known in the ecumenical movement for his progressive ideas and for his involvement in the movement for Christian unity. The present short study analyzes the involvement of Orthodoxy in its effort to bring closer relations among churches and to eliminate religious fanaticism.

Εἰσαγωγή στήν Ὁρθόδοξη Συμβουλευτική Ποιμαντική [Introduction to Orthodox Pastoral Counseling]. By Alexander M. Stavropoulos. Athens: n.p., 1985. Pp. 110.

The present work, by a professor of the University of

Athens, discusses the contemporary need of the Greek Orthodox Church to be involved in pastoral counseling. In addition, he offers a methodology for Orthodox counseling which is rich with Orthodox tradition. There is a German summary.

Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς [Liturgical Texts]. By John M. Fountoules. 3 vols. Thessalonike, 1985.

The present monumental study of Professor Fountoules is of great importance to the student and scholar of Orthodox liturgical theology.

Volume 1. Ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ Νυχθημέρου. Pp. 423. This volume contains the daily services of the Orthodox Church, that is, Vespers, Orthros, the Great Hours, and the services offered in the twenty-four hour liturgical cycle.

Volume 2. Θέματα Εὐχολογίου. Pp. 481. This volume contains the services of: ordination, cornerstone laying of a church, small blessing of the waters, the holy Unction, Holy Week, memorial services, and prayers to avert earthquakes.

Volume 3. Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι. Pp. 503. This volume contains the Divine Liturgies of Saint Mark, Saint James, the Presanctified Gifts, Saint Basil, Saint John Chrysostom, the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, and the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church.

Ὁρθοδοξία: Ἡ σημερινή πρόκληση [Orthodoxy: Contemporary Challenge]. By Athanasios I. Delicostopoulos. Athens: Ἐκκλησιαστικόν Ἐπιστημονικόν καί Μορφωτικόν Ἰδρυμα Ἰωάννου καί Ἐριέττης Γρηγορίου, 1986. Pp. 494.

Professor Delicostopoulos of the University of Athens offers a critical analysis of Orthodoxy as well as a comparative-historical self-criticism and a discussion of its dynamic process in the world. This book touches on many historical and contemporary topics as well as problem areas for Orthodoxy. It is well documented, with an excellent bibliography of Greek and non-Greek sources. It is a book that merits translation.

Ἐντυπώσεις ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Βορείου καί Νοτίου

Ἀμερικῆς στὰ πλαίσια τῆς ΚΖ΄ Κληρικολαϊκῆς Συνελεύσεως [Impressions from the Holy Archdiocese of North and South America Within the Framework of the 27th Clergy-Laity Congress]. By Evangelos D. Theodorou. Athens: Ekklesia, 1986. Pp. 213.

This volume contains an excellent documentation of the 27th Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. It offers many photos of Orthodox church buildings in America, the hierarchy, and from the Congress itself. It is an excellent presentation of the Greek Orthodox Church of the Americas for the reader in Greece in that it portrays the life and organization of Greek Orthodoxy in America.

Ὁ Γάμος: «Τό μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν» [Marriage: "This is a Great Mystery"]. By Petros D. Christodoulis. Athens: Zoe, 1984. Pp. 185.

The author, a priest in the Church of Greece, surveys the traditional biblical view of marriage, many of the contemporary problems of marriage, the crises of marriage, marriage outside the Church, love as the foundation of marriage, and other important issues dealing with the contemporary institution of marriage and the family.

Ὁ Δαρβίνος καί ἡ θεωρία τῆς ἐξελίξεως [Darwin and the Theory of Evolution]. By Nikolaos P. Vasiliades. Athens, "Ὁ Σοτήρ," 1983. Pp. 158.

The present study was written on the occasion of the centennial of the death of Darwin. It discusses the scientific approach to the theory of evolution and several philosophical-theological views of evolution. The author's objective is to present an apologetic for the Christian faith against atheistic Darwinism by giving primary and secondary sources to support his views. A good discussion of scientific personalities is offered in order to shed light on the issues surrounding the controversy of the theory of evolution. The author's stance is clearly that of a Christian who believes in creation

as God-inspired truth and is opposed to the possible and contradictory theories. The book contains many good illustrations and a select bibliography.

Between Peril and Promise: Fifteen Christian Thinkers Share Their Vision for the Church. By James R. and Elizabeth Newby, (eds.). Nashville: Nelson, 1984. Pp. 171.

This book presents the views of fifteen Christian scholars on their understanding of the appropriate Christian course in the contemporary world. This book is a collection of essays by several prominent American theologians, both Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox, who offer their views and hopes for the future promise of Christianity. Father John Meyendorff from St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary and Dr. Jack Sparks from St. Athanasius Evangelical Orthodox Academy are also included.

Vatican II: Open Questions and New Horizons. By Gerald M. Fagin, S.J. Wilmington, DE., Michael Glazier, 1984. Pp. 137.

The Roman Catholic convocation of the Second Vatican Council brought many radical changes in the Church of Rome. The present volume is a collection of essays by five prominent theologians who have been actively involved in the interpretation and articulation of the decrees of the Second Vatican Council. The authors are Stephen Duffy, Avery Dulles, George Lindbeck, Gregory Baum, Francine Cardman, and Gerald Fagin. It is an important source for understanding what is now happening in the Roman Catholic Church after twenty years since the convocation of the Second Vatican Council.

The Anonymous Christ: Jesus as Savior in Modern Theology. By Lee E. Snook. Augsburg: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. Pp. 191.

The present volume concerns a Christology that begins with the historical event of Jesus of Nazareth. The thesis of this book is stated as follows: "The whole point of Christology

from its beginnings in the New Testament until now has been to assert that none other than God can save the world, and that Jesus is God's way of doing just that" (p. 8). It is an important work in order to understand the several views of Protestant theology of Christ.

Our Orthodox Christian Faith: A Handbook of Popular Dogmatics. Athens: "O Soter," 1984. Pp. 253.

The author makes the claim "that the majority of Orthodox Christians do not know why they are Christians" (p. 3) and, therefore, justifies the need for such a book on Orthodox doctrine for popular consumption. The book begins with the definition of religion in general and Orthodox Christianity in particular. The author discusses the traditional topics of systematic theology in four parts, that is, Dogmatics, Redemption in Christ, Making Redemption Ours, and Eschatology. The book contains several beautiful icons. It is very useful as an introduction to the Orthodox faith.

Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity. By Jacob Neusner. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. Pp. 112.

This prominent Jewish scholar presents a discussion of the central issues of the world into which Christ emerged. He discusses the land of Israel; Sage, Priest, and Messiah in the age of Christ; the Pharisees; and Hillel and the destruction of the Temple. The five chapters present the background of Christianity and the gospels of Jesus that set him in conflict with the rest of Judaism. The book is intended for both Jews and Christians to understand better the formative period of both. This book must be read by Christians to better understand Judaism and by Jews in order to better understand Christianity.

Orthodoxy in Finland: Past and Present. By Veikko Purmonen (ed.). 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. Kuopis, Finland: Orthodox Clergy Association, 1984. Pp. 110.

The present volume is a collection of articles on the history,

life, and ecumenical activities of the national Finnish Orthodox Church. The rich history, the leaders, theological education, and important information on the Orthodox Church which is a minority, yet is supported by the government, is covered. The book includes pictures and illustrations that manifest a rich spiritual life in a country where Lutheran Christians are the majority. This book is an excellent introduction to the history, institutions, art, missionary activities, and to international, ecumenical, and inter-Orthodox activities. This book presents the Orthodox Church in Finland as being very alive and well.

Παραδόσεις αρχαιολογίας τῆς Παλαιστίνης καί βιβλικῆς θεολογίας [*Lectures on the Archaeology of Palestine and Biblical Institutions*]. By Elias Economou. Athens: n.p., 1985. Pp. 493.

The present book by the Professor of Old Testament at the University of Athens is a text for university students on Palestine. It includes a definition, brief history of archaeology, history of Palestinian civilizations, and the institutions of the Old Testament as well as the religious and social life of the ancient Israelites.

Ὁ Μεγάλος Διδάσκαλος τοῦ Γένους: Ὁ Εὐγένιος Γιαννούλης ὁ Αἰτωλός καί οἱ σπουδαιότεροι μαθητές τῶν Ἀγράφων [*The Great Teacher of the Nation: Eugenios Giannoulis the Aitolian and the Most Important Students and Schools of Agrapha*]. 2nd and enlarged edition. By Panos I. Vasileiou. Ed. Maria Pòlymerou-Margaronis. Athens: Ἱστορικές ἐκδόσεις Στεφ. Βασιλοπούλου, 1985. Pp. 224.

The present work deals with one of the most prominent educators of modern Hellenism, Eugenios, who lived in seventeenth-century Central Greece under the darkness of the Ottoman suppression. His main concern as an educator was to create schools to educate the Greek youth. The author in a scholarly manner presents the efforts of this prominent teacher to spread the idea of educating the youth. The author includes the biography of Eugenios and his most prominent

students and schools. In 1982, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople proclaimed Eugenios a saint. He is honored by the people of Roumeli as a holy, virtuous freedom lover and a man to be emulated by the youth of every age and social standing.

Books Received

Amirtham, Samuel and Cyris H. S. Moon (eds.). *The Teaching of Ecumenism*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1987. Pp. xii + 142. \$9.95, paper.

Bria, Ion (ed.). *Go Forth in Peace: Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*. WCC Mission Series. Geneva: WCC, 1986. Pp. 102. Paper.

Christou, Panagiotes. *Ἑλληνικὴ Πατρολογία Τόμος Γ': Περίοδος Θεολογικῆς Ἀκμῆς Δ' καὶ Ε' Αἰῶνος*. Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies. Thessalonike: Byzantion — E. G. Meretakis, 1987. Pp. 599. Cloth.

Dimitriou, Nadina. *Ἀναζητήσεις IV*. Athens: Ikaros, 1987. Pp. 107. Paper.

Dimitriou, Nadina. *Interlude*. Foreword by Costas Proussis. Nicosia: n.p., 1987. Pp. 120. Paper.

Efthimiou, Milton B. *Greeks and Latins on Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century*. Brookline, MA.: Hellenic College Press, 1988. Pp. xxx + 15 photographs. \$14.95, paper. \$22.95, cloth.

Fougias, Methodios (Metropolitan). *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία*. Volumes 7-8 (1986-87). Pp. 802. Paper.

Gaston, Lloyd. *Paul and the Torah*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987. Pp. 270. \$19.95, cloth.

Link, Hans-Georg (ed.). *One God, One Lord, One Spirit. On the Explication of the Apostolic Faith Today*. Faith and Order Paper No. 130. Geneva: WCC, 1988. Pp. 140.

Iakovos, Archbishop. *Faith for a Lifetime*. New York: Doubleday, 1988. Pp. 216. \$15.95, cloth.

Leivestad, Ragner. *Jesus in His Own Perspective: An Examination of His Sayings, Actions, and Eschatological Titles*. Trans. David E. Aune and Martin Hengel. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987. Pp. 192. Paper.

MacRae SJ, George W. *Studies in the New Testament and Gnosticism*. Good News Studies 26. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987. Pp 277. \$12.95, paper.

Martin, Luther H. *Hellenistic Religions. An Introduction*. New York—Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. Pp. 170.

Michaud, Douglas P. *The Catholic Hodgepodge or Will the Real Gospel Stand Up?* New York: Vantage Press, 1987. Pp. xiv + 116. \$10.00, cloth.

Örby SJ, Ladislav. *The Church: Learning and Teaching. Magisterium, Assent, Dissent, Academic Freedom*. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987. Pp. 172. \$14.95, cloth.

Rajendra, Cecil. *Dove on Fire: Poems on Peace, Justice and Ecology*. Illustrations by Jose Venturelli. The Risk Book Series. Geneva: WCC, 1987. Pp. x + 82. Paper.

Sweetland, Dennis M. *Our Journey with Jesus. Discipleship according to Mark*. Good News Studies 22. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987. Pp. 188. \$7.95, paper.

Tachiaos, Anthony-Emil. *The Revival of Byzantine Mysticism among Slavs and Romanians in XVIIIth Century. Texts Relating to the Life and Activity of Paisy Velichkovsky (1722-1794)*. Thessalonike: Aristotelian University of Thessalonike, 1986. Pp. 296. Paper.

Thurian, Max (ed.). *Churches Respond to BEM: Official Responses to the "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry" Text*. Faith and Order Paper No. 137. Geneva: WCC, 1987. Pp. xii + 257. \$17.50, paper.

Xenelis, Michael N. *Nicholas and Eleni of Lesbos*. Lynn, MA.: n.p., 1987. Pp. 178 + 8 photographs. \$10.00.

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**The
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†Professor George Barrois (August 27, 1988)

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Phronema: Annual Review of St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Theological College. Vol. 1. Redfern N.S.W., Australia, 1986.

The above Greek Orthodox theological journal makes its maiden appearance on Australian soil. Congratulations are due to Archbishop Stylianos of Australia who had the vision to establish a theological college for the preparation of native Australians for the Orthodox priesthood. His Eminence should also be greatly commended for the publication of a journal promoting theological discussion and debate for greater understanding of the Orthodox tradition in Australia.

For this first volume, Archbishop Stylianos, who is also dean of the theological college, has written an article on "The Place of Tradition in the Christian Faith." Other *Phronema* articles include: "The Spiritual Father as Embodiment of Tradition" by John Chryssavgis; "Authority, Tradition and the Holy Mysteries" by Guy Freeland; and "Greek Orthodoxy in Australia: The Tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Australian Community" by Miltiades Chryssavgis.

The volume also contains book reviews and brief notes as well as a chronicle of the College, its opening and activities, and brief biographies of the faculty. It is indeed an excellent and highly scholarly theological review that reflects current Greek Orthodox thought in Australia and is very much welcomed to join other Orthodox theological journals in the English-speaking world.

Those interested may subscribe by sending \$25.00 to: St. Andrew's Theological College, 242 Cleveland Street, Redfern N.S.W. 2016, AUSTRALIA.

George C. Papademetriou
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Book Notes

GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU

Ὁ Ἅγιος Παναγῆς Μπασσιᾶς (Παπα-Μπασσιᾶς) [Saint Panages Mpasias: Papa-Mpasias]. By Konstantinos G. Gelis. Second edition. Athens: n.p., 1987. Pp. 176.

The present volume contains a biography, the miracles, and sanctification of this holy priest who lived on the island of Kephallenia, Greece in the nineteenth century. The book contains letters from several hierarchs of the Church of Greece and the patriarch of Constantinople extolling Saint Panages and proclaiming him a saint. Also included are numerous pictures of the saint and of people and places related to him. This volume ends with a service (*ἀκολουθία*) dedicated to the saint by the hymnographer, Father Polykarpos Komes, and a bibliography.

Πῶς Βλέπει Σήμερα ἡ Ἐπιστήμη τὸ Σύμπαν [How Science Sees the Universe Today]. By Demetrios D. Kotsakis. Athens: Zoe, 1985. Pp. 117.

A discussion of present-day astronomical theories concerning the universe and how they relate to religious faith, especially Christian piety and belief.

Ένα Τρισεκατομμύριο Άστέρες: Γέννηση, Ζωή και Θάνατος τών Άστέρων [One Trillion Stars: Genesis, Life and Death of the Stars]. Athens: Zoe, 1985. Pp. 160.

A discussion of the current understanding of the universe and the stars, the slow death of the sun, the evolution of the stars, galaxies, and the universe in general. It contains many mathematical and scientific illustrations.

Διαστημικὲς Έρευνες: Ζωή σέ Ξένους Πλανήτες [Space Research: Life on Other Planets]. By Demetrios D. Kostakis. Athens: Zoe, 1984. Pp. 111.

Space research and speculation about life on other planets are the subjects of this book which contains numerous scientific illustrations. It also includes a selective bibliography.

Παρουσία τού Άγίου Πνεύματος: Τρία Βιβλικά Δοκίμια [Presence of the Holy Spirit: Three Biblical Essays]. By Demetrios Trakatellis. Athens: Semantro Press, 1984. Pp. 119.

Written by the prominent Greek Orthodox biblical scholar, Bishop Trakatellis, this book is an exegetical treatise in three essays entitled: "The Holy Spirit and the Christian Believers"; "The Holy Spirit and Missionary Activity on the Basis of the New Testament"; and "The Holy Spirit and *Charismata*." The work presents, interprets, and emphasizes the variety of ways that the Holy Spirit is present in the life of the individual, the Church, and the world.

Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογία: Στοιχεία από τήν Τέχνη Άνατολής καί Δύσεως [Christian Archaeology: Elements from the Art of East and West]. By George V. Antourakis. Vol. 1. Pp. 411. Text, Vol. 2: pictures and illustrations. Athens: Graphic Arts, 1984. Pp. 299.

These two volumes are a scholarly introduction to Christian archaeology. The work discusses and gives numerous illustrations of the architecture of church buildings and paintings in the East and West.

The second volume contains illustrations of all the icons that are discussed in the text of Volume 1. The book is fully documented in the footnotes and bibliography.

Εὐρυτανία: Ἀρχαία Ἱστορία καὶ Θρύλος [Evrytania: Ancient History and Legend]. By Demetrios Ioan. Phalles. Athens: n.p., 1987. Pp. 141.

This book contains the history, legends, costumes, geography, and traditions of ancient Evrytania in north-central Greece. It gives details of the early people, language, and religion of the people of Evrytania. The author researched his topic well and documented the positions he has taken. Included are illustrations, pictures of people in present Evrytania, and congratulatory letters to the author concerning his work from prominent authors and professors. It also contains a bibliography.

These Truths We Hold: The Holy Orthodox Churches, Her Life and Teachings. Compiled and edited by a monk of St. Tikhon's Monastery. South Canaan, PA.: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 395.

This is an encyclopedia on Orthodox life, practice, and history. It contains numerous icons and details on the Orthodox tradition. It includes a history of the Church from the apostles through the present age: Byzantium, the conversion, the history of local churches and patriarchates, Orthodoxy in America, architecture and worship, feasts, dogmas, icons, holy sacraments, Scriptures, and Tradition in the Orthodox Church. The volume contains explanations of Christian symbols and gives details of the lives and activity of the

apostles and saints. In addition, numerous icons and illustrations make this book very attractive. In short, it is an encyclopedia on Orthodoxy of the Russian tradition and piety.

The Jesus Tradition: Images of Jesus in the West. By Gerard S. Sloyan. Mystic, CT.: Twenty-Third Publications, 1986. Pp. 221.

The present work is an insightful interpretation of Jesus throughout the ages in the West. The selective survey attempts to demonstrate how believers in every age understood Jesus in their lives. The chapters that are included are: "Apostolic Age," "Early Apocryphal Images of Jesus," "The Church Fathers," "Francis of Assisi," "Medieval English Mystics," "Troubled Times of the Renaissance and Reformation," "The Move into Modernity," "Modern Critics and Their Heirs," and "Some Contemporary Images of Jesus."

Orthodoxy in Finland: Past and Present. Second and enlarged edition. Ed. Veikko Purmonen. Kuopis, Finland: Orthodox Clergy Association, 1984. Pp. 110.

This volume is a good introduction to all aspects of the history, life, and activities of the Orthodox Church in Finland. It is a collection of essays by several authors. It contains the origin and development of Orthodoxy in Finland as well as its continuation, present-day ecumenical activities, and government support. It contains numerous pictures of hierarchs, institutions, and churches. It also has a map showing the location of the Orthodox parishes, statistical information of membership, and a directory. Orthodoxy in Finland eloquently witnesses to the West with its dynamic and rich spirituality.

Mary and the Churches. Ed. Aberic Stacpoole. Dublin, Ireland: The Columbia Press, 1987. Pp. 180.

This is a collection on the Virgin Mary sponsored by the Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The several articles represent aspects of the Christian traditions on the doctrine concerning Mary the Mother of God and are written by Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and several Protestant writers. The Orthodox contribution by Mrs. Mary Ann De Trana discusses "Mary, Model for the Church and so for All of Us" (pp. 42-58). The essays — papers presented at the Seventh International Congress of the Society — are an excellent contribution to greater understanding among Christians, drawing them closer together in the loving person of the Holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary.

Κείμενα Πίστewος καὶ Ἐλευθερίας [Texts on Faith and Liberty]. Elias V. Oikonomou. Athens: EKKLESIA, 1985. Pp. 222.

The present work contains texts on faith and liberty expressing the deep religious piety of the Greeks during the Greek War of Independence of 1821. Professor Oikonomou has collected all the texts which refer to the faith (Orthodox) of those who fought for an independent modern Greece. It is well-documented and includes a bibliography as well as excellent illustrations.

Ἑλληνική Θεολογική Βιβλιογραφία: Βιβλιογραφία ἔτους 1982 καὶ Παραλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ 1977 [Greek Theological Bibliography: Bibliography for the 1982 and Omissions Since 1977]. No. 6. Ed. Adamadios S. Anestides. Athens: Theologia, 1987. Pp. λθ, 854.

Since 1977 the editions of *Theologia*, a scholarly journal of the Church of Greece, have published an annual volume of "Greek Orthodox Theological Bibliography."

The present volume is a great contribution to scholars

pursuing religious studies everywhere. The volume is comprehensive and contains a complete bibliography of international Greek Orthodox scholarship; that is, it includes publications appearing in Greece and outside of Greece related to Greek Orthodox theology and includes articles that appeared in Greek and non-Greek journals as well as books.

This impressive volume includes 13,113 entries. It also includes a comprehensive index of names and titles helpful to the researcher. It is an excellent tool of great importance that should be on the shelf of every theological library for reference in Greek Orthodox theology. The present volume especially contributes to the ecumenical movement by making available the bibliographical notices of all fields of Greek Orthodox theology to ecumenically-minded scholars of other religious traditions who may be greatly benefited.

†Professor George Barrois

ON AUGUST 27, 1987, ORTHODOXY LOST A DISTINGUISHED scholar of international prominence and fame.

Professor Barrois was a native of France and was raised in a Roman Catholic family. Following the death of his father during World War I, he entered the Dominican Order of Preachers, which stresses study, preaching, teaching, and contemplation. In 1923, he became a priest in the Roman Catholic Church. He completed his doctorate in theology in 1924. He went to Jerusalem to research and teach theology in the famous Roman Catholic *Ecole Biblique et Archeologique Francaise* and remained there until 1935.

Professor Barrois was an authority on the Old Testament and the geography of Palestine. He contributed to the writing of the Jerusalem Bible and participated in several archeological excavations in the Holy Land. His major contribution is the important two-volume *Manse d'Archeologique*.

In 1935 he returned to France and in 1939 he came to the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. where he taught Old Testament. He became unhappy with the Roman Catholic Church and, for that reason, he joined the faculty of the Presbyterian Princeton Theological Seminary in 1942 where he taught history and medieval history.

In 1968 he retired from Princeton and continued writing and teaching Old Testament at St. Vladimir's Seminary. Through the influence of his colleague, the late Father Georges Florovsky, he converted to Orthodoxy.

In addition to his great contribution in biblical archeology,

Professor Barrois wrote several books on Orthodox biblical theology and articles in encyclopedias and journals. His books reveal great knowledge of Jesus and his land. He authored the excellent books, *The Face of Christ in the Old Testament* (1974), *Scripture Readings in Orthodox Worship* (1977), *Jesus Christ and the Temple* (1980), and his latest *The Fathers Speak* (1986). Professor Barrois will continue to teach us and deepen our knowledge of the Scriptures and the church Fathers through his books.

Professor Barrois is survived by his wife and son. Those of us who knew Professor Barrois are richer for it.

May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology



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Book Notes

by George C. Papademetriou

Δογματική και Συμβολική Θεολογία: Α. Είσαγωγή στη Θεολογική Γνωσσιολογία [Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology: A. Introduction to Theological Epistemology] by Nikolaos A. Matsoukas. Thessalonike, Greece: P. Pournaras Publishers, 1985. Pp. 253.

The present volume is an introduction to the theological epistemology or the theological theory of knowledge. The author examines the possibility of knowledge from an Orthodox Christian perspective. It is a theoretical approach to the understanding of religious truth. Especially for those involved in the study of theology, there is a need to properly understand the theory of knowledge before entering into the dogmatic truths of Orthodoxy.

I am impressed with the superb scholarship of the present author and his acute understanding of the theological and philosophical issues of contemporary western thought as well as the deep analytical method of his use of the patristic and ecclesiastical literature of the Orthodox Church. His research into the sources of the Orthodox faith is characterized by his precision and accuracy of interpretation.

He examines topics such as: truth and knowledge, the source of knowledge, language, symbols and reality, types of theology, mystical and philosophical theology, scientific and philosophical theology in modern times, charismatic theology, the double theological methodology of the Fathers of the Orthodox Church, the unity and division of theology, holy Scripture and tradition, revelation and reality, physics and metaphysics, theory and *praxis*, existential unity, and the function of therapeutic and pastoral theology. The volume is an excellent introduction to and preparation for the study of dogmatic theology.

Δογματική καὶ Συμβολική Θεολογία: Β' Ἐκθεση τῆς Ὁρθόδοξης πίστεως σὲ ἀντιπαράθεση μὲ τὴ Δυτικὴ Χριστιανοσύνη. [Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology: B. Exposition of the Orthodox Faith in Contrast to Western Christianity] Nikolaos A. Matsoukas. Thessalonike (Greece): P. Pournaras Publishers, 1985. Pp. 569.

This second volume of the dogmatic theology by Prof. N. Matsoukas is an exposition of the Orthodox faith. In the introduction, the author gives an historical description of earlier expositions and treatises on the Orthodox faith. He begins with the patristic era, gives valuable information on the dogmatic handbooks written by Orthodox theologians down to the present time.

Professor Matsoukas makes the claim that the present text has as its model the patristic traditional exposition of the Orthodox faith and the historico-dogmatic, critical methodology of Western Christianity. It does not include the usual scholastic divisions of dogmatic handbooks but rather follows the patristic method of division as follows: theology, that is, on the doctrine of God; Christology, that is, on the Church's mission for the salvation of the world.

The author succeeded in his intention in writing a text on the exposition of the faith. This volume is well written using the superb scholarly method and a very impressive use of patristic and contemporary scholarship. The volume can be characterized as accurate and a precise exposition of Orthodox dogmatic theology and merits translation.

Οἰκουμενικὴ Κίνηση: Ἱστορία — Θεολογία. [Ecumenical Movement: History — Theology]. Nikos Matsoukas. Thessalonike, Greece: P. Pournaras Publishers, 1986. Pp. 339.

The contemporary importance of the ecumenical movement compelled several prominent theologians to analyze the issue. The present book by an Orthodox theologian-philosopher is a welcome addition, especially to the Greek Orthodox readership.

The author, a prominent Greek Orthodox professor of systematic theology analyzes the ecumenical issues and assesses the movement for Orthodoxy. The topics he treats are East and West, unity and schism, origin and formation of Protestantism, the

relationship of the Reformation to Roman Catholicism and the Orthodox Church, Western theology after the Reformation, unity and witness and theological rapprochement.

The author gives good reasons for the participation of Orthodoxy in the ecumenical movement. The nature of Orthodox Christianity is ecumenical *par excellence*. Orthodoxy expresses love for all creation and the entire human race that finds and needs to be in dialogue.

Ἡ Χριστιανωσύνη στὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Γραμματεία τῶν Πρώτων Πέντε Αἰώνων. [The Priesthood in the Ecclesiastical Literature of the First Five Centuries]. Demetrios Vakaros. Thessalonike (Greece): Privately published, 1986. Pp. 353.

The present volume was originally submitted as a dissertation to the faculty of the University of Thessalonike. The author made an effort to exhaust the topic of the priesthood in the first five centuries. To a large extent, he succeeded. This work is an expression of scholarship and expert knowledge of the sources.

The author deals with the priesthood of Christ and his successors, the sacramental priesthood and the general or royal priesthood, the laying on of hands, apostolic succession, the teaching of the Old and New Testaments on the priesthood, orders of priesthood, that is bishop, presbyter, deacon, election and ordination and church offices. It is inevitable that the author discusses the issue of the ordination of women. He rightly concludes that the Church did not allow women in the sacramental priesthood but only as ministers in other important areas of the life of the Church.

This impressive volume merits English translation in order to be accessible to the English-speaking Orthodox Christians.

Πίστις ὡς βίωμα. Ε': Τόμος. Ἡ ἀξία τοῦ ἁγίου στὴ ζωὴ ἀπὸ τὸν ἀστερισμὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν. [Faith as Experience. Vol. 5. The value of the holy in life from the stars of virtue.] A.N. Tsirintanis. Athens (Greece): Syzetesis Publications, 1987. Pp. 240.

In a society of revolution against virtue and values, the present

series attempts to reinforce the foundation of morality. This book is an important study of the value of holiness and of the holy person.

The author analyzes and discusses the following topics: the value of the holy in life, in civilization, spiritual development, Christian materialism, true humility, and the need to learn the ways of holiness.

Tò πρόβλημα τοῦ κακοῦ: Δοκίμιο Πατερικῆς Θεολογίας [The Problem of Evil: A Treatise on Patristic Theology]. Nikos Matsoukas. Thessalonike, Greece: P. Pournaras Publishers, 1986. Pp. 308.

The prominent theologian-philosopher, Professor Nikos Matsoukas, produced several excellent works on theology based on patristic thought. The present scholarly work is on the problem of evil treated from the philosophical-theological as well as patristic point of view.

The author discusses the following important topics in the pages of this book: creation *ex nihilo*, forms of demonism, death, love, the angelic and demonic elements of love, love and marriage, sin and tolerance, hell, restoration of all things, moral life, social life, aesthetic life, the philosophy of religion and Christian apologetics against the problem of evil, truth and myth, theology, and thoughts on Christian apologetics.

In an analytical manner the author discusses the problem of evil from the several philosophical, theological, ethical, and religious points of views. He leans heavily on the Christian apologetical method and writings to extol the Christian view of evil. I am personally impressed by the author's style and scholarly method of approach to the problem of evil.

Tò Ἑλληνικὸ Βιβλίον (1476-1830) [The Greek Book 1476-1830] by Katherine Koumarinos, Loukia Droulia, Euro Layton. Athens: The Greek National Bank of Greece, 1986. Pp. 330.

The Greeks and their culture were greatly inhibited in the Ottoman period. In spite of all the suffering the Greeks managed

to continue their cultural development and especially the publication of books, pamphlets and newspapers.

The present beautifully illustrated volume researches the Greek book from all aspects, that is, its production and distribution from the beginning of the discovery of printing. Topics that are discussed in the volume are as follows: publication of books, Greek printing, the book distributor, enlightenment, the book as a tool for education and as a trade item, libraries, distribution of book catalogues, the technical method of printing, and Greek books in various countries and cities of the Mediterranean.

The book contains beautiful art work and illustrations, excellent documentation, a bibliography and an index. This volume is a treasury of information on the Greek book, in addition to information on personalities and scholars of the time. It is an excellent volume on modern Greek culture.

Τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸ Βυζαντινὸ Κράτος καὶ ἡ Ἐμφάνιση τοῦ Ἰσλάμ 518-717 μ.Χ. (The Ecumenical Byzantine Empire and the Appearance of Islam 518-717 A.D.). Alexis G.K. Savvides. Athens (Greece): Estia Publications, 1985. Pp. 279.

The present volume is a contribution to the study of the origin and expansion of Islam in relation to the Byzantine Empire. The author discusses the various aspects of the background and the direct effect of the Muslim empire on the Eastern Roman empire. He divides the work into three general areas, such as the Justinian era (518-610), the era of Herakleios (610-717), and early Islam. It also includes a discussion of the doctrines of Islam, the relations and conflicts between Byzantium and Arabs, list of emperors, patriarchs (Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem), popes of Rome, Persian and Armenian leaders and other pertinent information, such as several illustrations, a list of primary sources, an excellent bibliography, and an index. The book is well documented.

Ἡ Θεσσαλία στὴν Τουρκοκρατία [Thessaly under the Turks] Athens (Greece): Epikairoteta Publications, 1984. Pp. 415.

The present volume is a documented history of modern Hellenism

under the Ottomans. It describes the achievement of the Greeks to maintain their national identity in spite of unbearable odds.

The book includes topics on the occupation of Thessaly under the Turks, the economic development, enlightenment of Thessaly, struggles, neomartyrs, the Meteora, Greek education, and philhellenes. In short the book is an historical study of the social, educational, religious, cultural, and political life of the Greeks under the Ottoman Turks. The Greeks were suppressed in all aspects of life. The volume also discusses the interaction of peoples of different national backgrounds and their interrelations. In spite of all the suppression, the Greeks were able to experience an enlightenment, a renaissance of learning and culture, due to a large degree to the Church and its clergy.

Εἰσαγωγή στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία. [Introduction to Byzantine Literature]. Agnes Vasilikopoulos-Ioannides. Athens (Greece): M. Kardamitsa Publishers, 1984. Pp. 104.

The present book is a brief introduction to the Byzantine literature. It is intended for university students in the Byzantine program of studies.

This volume includes an analysis and discussion of Byzantine literary works. The author discusses such topics as philosophy and art, Byzantine philology, the literary styles of classical, Alexandrian and Byzantine eras, Byzantine literature, language, philosophy, theology, hagiography, rhetorics, historiography and poetry.

It is an excellent introduction to Byzantine studies. It also includes a selective bibliography and an index.

Μελέτες Βυζαντινῆς Ἱστορίας 11ου-13ου Αἰώνα [Studies on Byzantine History 11th-13th Centuries]. Alexis G.K. Savvides. Athens (Greece): M. Kardamitsa Publishers, 1986. Pp. 220.

The present volume includes studies on Byzantine society, its inner strifes, economics, trade, administration, army, external enemies, biographies, and genealogy. The book includes numerous illustrations of coins, seals, and maps of Byzantium.

In addition, it contains a good bibliography, excellent documentation, and an index.

Προσφορά αγάπης [Offering of Love]. Panag. Kostopanagiotes. Athens (Greece): National Bank of Greece Publications, 1985. Pp. 62.

The present small volume is an historical record of the various activities of the Evrytanian Society of America "Velouchi." It is written on the Society's 40th Anniversary to extol the charitable and social activities of the organization. It contains numerous pictures of members of the society in America and Greece. It provides excellent historical documentation of the Greek Americans who have their origin in Evrytania.

Τὰ Κόλλυβα [The Wheat]. Yiannes Souliotes. Athens (Greece): Kedros Publishers, 1986. Pp. 25 text and 52 pages of photographs.

This beautiful volume is on an interesting Orthodox religious practice, that is, the use of "wheat." The practice of boiled "wheat," brought to the Orthodox churches in memory of loved ones, according to this author, has its roots in ancient Greece and was extended into the Christian era. The author defines the historical origin of the boiled "wheat" or *kollyva*, and provides an historical documentation of the evolution of the practice.

The volume also contains some of the most artistically made *kollyva* in Greece. They are photographed in color and show the love and care of those who make them. It is an interesting book.

The Power of the Word in the Worshipping Church. John Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 237.

The power of preaching in Orthodoxy often is being neglected. The present volume emphasizes the essential unity of the word and sacrament.

The author presents several essays, including interpreting the word, that is, hermeneutics, the living word, that is the liturgical or confessional expressions of communicating the biblical message

and teaching by means of iconography, hymnography, and architecture.

The book is very well documented from the Scriptures, the Church fathers, and the liturgical books of the Church. It includes several icons that illustrate the graphic expressions of the Gospel readings of several feasts.

I highly recommend this book to Orthodox and non-Orthodox who wish to clearly understand the message of Orthodoxy and its mission to communicate the Gospel to the world.

Catholic Theology in North American Context. Current Issues in Theology. Edited by George Kilcourse. Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America, 1987. Pp. ix-134.

The present volume is a collection of scholarly theological papers by Roman Catholic theologians. The introduction is written by the prominent theologian-professor, Monika K. Hellwig from Georgetown University.

The present work deals with the moral issues. The Roman Catholic theology in the context of the United States and Canada is ably discussed. The themes of the essays are: "The Historical Context of North American Theology" ("United States theology," "the Canadian story"), "American Experience in Moral Theology," "Church-State and Church World: Ecclesiological Implications," "Social Context of American Catholic Theology," "Foundation of Theology: A Community's Tradition of Discourse and Practice."

The topics discussed in this volume are of great importance to all contemporary theologians, including Protestant and Orthodox, dealing with problems within their own context.

Ελληνική θεολογική βιβλιογραφία: Βιβλιογραφία έτους 1982 καί παραλειπόμενα από τοῦ 1977 [Greek Theological Bibliography: Bibliography for 1982 and Omissions since 1977] No. 6. Ed. Adamandios S. Anestides. Athens: Theologia, 1987. Pp. xxxix, 854.

The need for bibliographies is always felt by scholars in all the fields of studies. Since 1977 the *Theologia*, a scholarly journal of

the Church of Greece published an annual volume of Greek theological bibliography.

The present volume is an important contribution to those pursuing religious studies on international and interreligious research projects because it includes publications that appeared in Greek both in and outside of Greece and are related to Greek Orthodox theology. It not only includes books, but also articles that appeared in Greek and non-Greek journals.

This impressive volume includes 13,113 entries and a comprehensive index of names and titles helpful to the researcher. In short, it is an excellent tool that should be on the shelf of every theological library for reference on Greek Orthodox theology. The present volume especially contributes to the ecumenical movement by making available the bibliographical notices in all fields of Greek theology that may help ecumenically minded scholars of other religious traditions.

Books Received

Robert Bellarmine. *Spiritual Writings*. Trans. and ed. John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. and Roland J. Teske, S.J. Introduction by John Patrick Donnelly. Preface by John O'Malley. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 401. \$14.95, paper.

Mary Collins, David Power and Mellonee Burnim (eds.). *Music and the Experience of God*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989. Pp. 155. \$11.95, paper.

William R. Crockett. *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation*. New York: Peublo, 1989. Pp. 286. \$14.50, paper.

Felipe J. Estévez (ed.). *Félix Varela: Letters to Elpidio*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 344. \$24.95, cloth.

Nicholas V. Gambas. *The Psychology of Confession and the Orthodox Church*. Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1989. Pp. 135. \$6.95, paper.

Claude Geffre and Jean-Pierre Jossua (eds.). *1789: The French Revolution and the Church. Concilium-Religion in the Eighties*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989. Pp. 144. Paper.

Richard M. Gula, S.S. *Reason Informed by Faith: Foundations of Catholic Morality*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 334. \$12.95, paper.

Colin E. Gunton and Daniel W. Hardy (eds.). *On Being the Church: Essays on the Christian Community*. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1989. Pp. 263. \$27.95, cloth.

R. P. C. Hanson. *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian Controversy 318-381 A.D.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989. Pp. 960. \$69.95, cloth.

Zachary Hayes, O.F.M. *Visions of a Future: A Study of Christian Eschatology*. New Theology Series, Volume 8. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989. Pp. 213. \$14.95, paper.

Warren Vander Hill (ed.). *Perspectives on Culture and Society*. Muncie, Indiana: Ball State University, 1989. Pp. 167, cloth.

Anthony Kelly, CSSR. *The Trinity of Love: A Theology of the Christian God*. New Theology Series, Volume 4. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989. Pp. 272. \$16.95,

Daniel Liderback. *The Numinous Universe*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 159. Paper.

Hans-George Link (ed.). *One God, One Lord, One Spirit: On the Explication of the Apostolic Faith Today*. Faith and Order Paper No. 139. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1988. Pp. 139. Paper.

Patrick McCormick. *Sin as Addiction*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 200. \$7.95, paper.

Robert W. McElroy. *The Search for an American Public Theology: The Contribution of John Courtney Murray*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 216. \$10.95, paper.

Calvin Miller. *The Valian Papers: A Guardian Angel's Efforts to Direct the Human Heart to God*. Ann Arbor: Servant Publications, 1989. Pp. 134. Paper.

Antonio Quacquarelli. *Il triplice frutto della vita cristiana: 100, 60 e 30 (Matteo XIII-8, nelle diverse interpretazioni)*. Rome: Edipuglia, 1989. Pp. 127. Paper.

Saint Gregory Palamas. *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters. A Critical Edition, Translation and Study*. Robert E. Sinkewicz, C.S.B. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989. Pp. 288. \$40.00, paper.

Brant Pelphrey. *Christ our Mother: Julian of Norwich*. The Way of the Christian Mystics. Volume 7. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989. Pp. 271. \$14.95, paper.

Gail Ramshaw (ed.). *Homilies for the Christian People*. Cycles A, B, C. New York: Peablo, 1989. Pp. 572. \$25.00, paper.

The Syriac Fathers in Prayer and the Spiritual Life. Introduced and Translated by Sebastian Brock. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988. Pp. 381. \$50.00, cloth.

Eva Catafygiotu-Topping. *Holy Mothers of Orthodoxy*. Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1987. Pp. 146. Paper.

Anthony Ugolnik. *The Illuminating Icon*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989. Pp. 276. \$18.95, cloth.

Urban C. von Wahlde. *The Earliest Version of John's Gospel: Recovering the Gospel of Signs*. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989. Pp. 216. \$29.95, cloth.

Hans-Ruedi Weber. *Power: Focus for a Biblical Theology*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1989. Pp. 204. \$12.90, paper.

Carroll A. Wise. *The Meaning of Pastoral Care*. With Revisions and Additions by John E. Hinkle, Jr. Bloomington, IN: Meyer Stone, 1989. Pp. 173. \$24.95, cloth. \$12.95, paper.



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humanity, is Perfection, the Absolute'' (p. 91). Basset talks of the historian's need to put historical material in order and start from a fixed point, and concedes that dialogue with his colleagues has caused him to rethink the whole concept of history.

Finally, though each has discussed and developed his own point of view, Synesios concludes "we have agreed on the greatest — on humanity. Each of us respects the humanity of the other. That is to say that we respect in each one the spark enclosed within him, the spark from God's light" (p. 182).

Of course, *Dialogues in a Monastery* shows Tsatsos exploring different philosophical and theological points of view in pursuit of the truth through his dialogical characters. Certainly, Jean Demos' smooth translation is excellent in providing English readers with ready access to one of Greece's most provocative thinkers. For this we are indeed grateful.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

The Fathers Speak: St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa. Selected Letters and Life-Records. Translated from the Greek with an introduction by George A. Barrois and with a Foreword by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 224. 1 map. Paper, \$8.95.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life. Trans. Catharine P. Roth and David Anderson. Introduction by Catharine P. Roth. Crestwood, NY.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 114. Paper.

The House of Holy Wisdom: A Homily on Proverbs 9. By Father Bessarion [Agioantonides]. Foreword by Chrysostomos, Bishop of Oreoi. Alamogordo, NM.: Saint Anthony the Great Orthodox Publications, 1987. Pp. 56, including illustrations. Paper, \$8.00.

In this day and age when there is, at the same time, an incredible amount of freedom and license in Western society and when the very foundations of the family and the Church are being shaken by contemporary movements to liberalize every aspect of society, and institutional Christianity is often blamed as the source of many of the West's current social, moral, and political problems, it is only appropriate that books like *The Fathers Speak*, *St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life*, and even *The House of Holy Wisdom* should direct our attention to the patristic and scriptural sources that have provided so much of the proper and dynamic foundations of Christianity. The late Georges Barrois, who taught at Princeton Theological Seminary and at St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary, was a respected biblical archaeologist and historian of medieval Latin who, among many books and articles, included a contribution to sections of the Jerusalem Bible. His commitment to the Orthodox Church also made him a profound student of the church Fathers. In *The Fathers Speak*, he did not intend to present the contribution of three Cappadocians to the development of Christian dogma so much as he wanted to introduce us to the intimate personal lives of Saint Basil, Saint Gregory of Nazianzos, and Saint Gregory of Nyssa by offering us, for the first time, an anthology of texts collected almost exclusively from the personal correspondence between Saint Basil the Great, his close friend Gregory "the Theologian," and his younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in this way revealing "the warmth of their affection for one another, their problems in 'the chaotic' situation stirred up by heretics and politicoes courting the favor of the Basileus, their interventions in favor of little people, their foundations for the sick, the poor, the travellers, their spiritual pieces of advice, their Hellenic culture, their Athenian witticisms, the most intimate details of their frugality . . . and bulletins on their state of health" (p. 220). Professor Barrois has successfully sought to share with us something of the humanity of these Fathers by giving us a "sampler" that would bring out what was most characteristic of their personalities.

Still, we learn, in an informal way, of their views on the Trinity, on marriage and family, on simony, on abortion, on friends, and other subjects, and are told of the way the Christian community performed Communion, marriage, and funeral rites, and carried on its everyday life. Despite such non-existent English words as "condisciples," "inexistant," "intrigant," and "mutism," the translator generally gives us a readable text that should command wide attention and interest.

St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life contains excellent renderings of Saint John Chrysostom's Homily 19 (on 1 Corinthians 7), Homily 7 (on Ephesians 5.22-23), Homily 21 (on Ephesians 6.1-4), Homily 12 (on Colossians 4.18), his sermon on marriage, and his advisory on "How to Choose a Wife." Catharine Roth provides an excellent introduction. She notes that Saint John expects couples to be transfigured by Christian love: "When two become one in Christ, their love can enable them to transcend any limitations imposed by the world. Depending on their spiritual gifts, either one may teach the other, and both together may fill their common life with as much holiness as any monks" (p. 11). Equality of husband and wife in matters of sex and responsibility is stressed as is God's reasons for the institution of marriage: first, to promote the holiness ("chastisy") of the husband and wife and only secondarily to produce children. Saint John Chrysostom's emphasis on the harmony and integrity of marriage, the love of husband and wife for each other, and their essential unity are themes which contemporary social critics would do well to ponder. Saint John Chrysostom repeatedly stresses, in accordance with Saint Paul, that "after marriage, you are no longer two, but one flesh" (p. 62) and "there is no relationship between human beings so close as that of husband and wife, if they are united as they ought to be" (p. 43).

St. John on Marriage and Family Life contains selections from this celibate church Father that provide an excellent array of scriptural and early Christian arguments for the *Christian* basis of marriage and family life. They are arguments that served well for more than 1500 years and are

now being questioned, even rejected, in the name of freedom, but Saint John Chrysostom reminds us that "if you transgress God's law, you become a slave even if you appear to be free" (p. 36) because "a man shows he is truly free when his spirit remains unfettered" (p. 37).

In *The House of Holy Wisdom*, produced on the occasion of the 1450th anniversary of the dedication of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia (February 17, 537 A.D.), Father Bessarion, Superior of the Monastery of Saint Anthony the Great in Alamogordo, New Mexico, takes us back to Proverbs 9 in the King James version, of which he presents a commentary in twelve parts in which "Wisdom" is both an attribute of God and a name of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures. The house of God is the Holy Church which he founded" (p. 21). The commentary interprets Proverbs 9 prophetically in terms of the Christian message of salvation, in a style reminiscent of the early Christian Fathers. Father Bessarion also includes a short section called "Scriptural Comparison" with biblical references to Holy Wisdom and the "House of God"; an Orthodox hymn; notes on Bishop Chrysostomos, himself, and the publisher; an index of scriptural references; and a brief general index. The aim of this modest publication is to "serve the needs both of those seeking to understand Christianity of the first centuries as well as those desiring to know more about the Scriptures and the Orthodox Church." The list of errata at the beginning unfortunately does not include *all* of the typographical errors actually committed.

The Fathers Speak and *St. John Chrysostom on Marriage and Family Life* are important resources for a proper understanding of the church Fathers and indicate something of their contribution to Eastern Christianity; Father Bessarion's *minus opus* provides the reader with an opportunity for spiritual meditation in the Orthodox tradition. All should be noted for their forthright Christian perspective.

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The Imperative of Mission in Orthodox Theology*

JAMES JOHN STAMOOLIS

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH HAS BEEN A MISSIONARY CHURCH from her origin in Jerusalem. The history of Orthodox missionary work continues without disruption to this day.¹ The work of the Archdiocesan Missions Board carries on in the tradition of the earliest missionary expansion of the Gospel.

While the activity of the Church in mission can be easily demonstrated, it is not enough to speak of missionary work in the past, nor to be satisfied with only a part of the Church interested and involved in mission concerns. The current situation demands that more, and ideally all, of the Church be involved in missionary activity. Faced with a world population of 5 billion and a total Christian population of 1.5 billion (and of these, only 1 billion are active, practicing Christians), the need for missionary work is apparent if we really believe that we have received the decisive revelation from God.

Mission has been a concern of the Church from her founding. The problem is that missionary work, which is a natural and logical consequence of our service to God, was not given

*The Third Annual Orthodox Missions Lecture at Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

¹While this may seem too bold a statement, if one considers the expansion of the Church in the early centuries, the work of the Byzantine Church, the Russian missionary expansion which carried on during the Turkish oppression of the Greek Church, and the Orthodox diaspora in the twentieth century, then the dispersion of the Gospel has continued unabated even if some of the expansion (in particular, the diaspora) was not consciously planned as missionary expansion.

an explicit theological foundation by earlier generations. In our day, such a foundation could strengthen missionary support by the Church as a whole. We need to demonstrate clearly what the ancients took as axiomatic. It is not enough to raise missionary support on the basis of emotion, though emotion has its place. If one claims to be truly Orthodox, the necessity to be missionary-minded must be set before the entire Church.

Therefore, while it is possible to make successful appeals for missionary funds on the basis of demonstrated needs and perhaps even personal guilt, it does not lay the foundation for correct thinking about our obligation. This obligation laid upon us is to be *synergoi*, fellow-workers, with God.²

The work God calls us to join him in is the proclamation of the gospel of eternal life through the second person of the Trinity, Jesus Christ, who became man so that we might become god.³ Why do we praise the triune God? It is precisely the actions of the Godhead on behalf of a fallen humanity that cause us to worship and adore the Trinity.

The Orthodox Church understands that her task is to offer *orthodoxia*, right praise, to the living God. The entire Orthodox Church, bishops, clergy and laity, should also understand that her task is to work with God in extending that worship to the ends of the earth. If we say we worship God correctly and do not seek to spread the news of God's revelation to this world, is our profession really credible?⁴

²1 Cor. 3.9; cf. 2 Cor. 6.1.

³For references to this patristic phrase, see Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood, NY., 1974), p. 97.

⁴Anastasios Yannoulatos asked, "Can a church that, for centuries now, has had no catechumens but jealously guards the treasure of faith for itself, totally indifferent to whether other people are being born, breathe, live and die, within the Lie — which therefore is alien to the feelings of world love and justice — be really "Orthodox?" This quotation first appeared in "Orthodox Spirituality and External Mission," *Poreftihendes* 4 (1962) 4. The article was reprinted under the same title in the *International Review of Mission* 52 (1963) 300-02.

What can the foundation be for this missionary understanding? Where do we find the missionary imperative in Orthodox theology? It must come from the deposit of Tradition; from what has been handed down to us. There are three areas that I would like to explore: the Scriptures, the Fathers and the Liturgy. For in Orthodox tradition, they are the elements of a theology of mission. The actual missiology I have written about elsewhere. What we will look at here are some of the aspects of tradition that compel our interest in and work for the missionary involvement of the Church. These aspects can give us a foundation for our mission thinking and work.

The Scriptures

We all know that the Scriptures are part of the Tradition.⁵ The manuals of Orthodox dogmatic theology in my library point out the richness of the Tradition which illuminates and interprets the Scripture. But this very interpretive function can stand in the way of our understanding of Scripture.

We cannot be content with the answers that others give without asking any questions of the Scriptures. Not to ask questions is to deny that the triune God still speaks in the revealed words. This attitude makes the Scriptures an old document in which God spoke once but does not use in the same way again. There is no interaction with the Scriptures and therefore no profit from them. The Scriptures are words that, at best, God spoke to someone else and are interesting historically; and at worst, formulae to repeat unthinkingly.

We need to interact with the texts as did the Fathers. We only discover answers as we ask questions of the text. If our

⁵I know that some Orthodox scholars write about the two sources of theology, Scripture and Tradition. I myself have written on the subject in this way. ("Scripture and Tradition as Sources of Authority in the Eastern Orthodox Church," Th.M thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1971.) However, for the purpose of this discussion, it makes no difference whether we see Scripture as a part of Tradition or as a complementary source.

questions are questions of previous generations which faced different historical situations, then we will not hear what God's revelation has to say to our historical situation. This is not to demean the answers that our forefathers in the Faith received. We must study to discover the wisdom that the Holy Spirit gave to them. But we must also understand what the Holy Spirit is saying to us.

This does not mean we are adrift in a sea of relativism, detached from Tradition, for we check our answers against the received deposit of truth. We must look to see if there are parallels to our situation in other historical periods. Indeed, we must identify the historical pattern which corresponds most closely to our situation.

In the United States there are elements of a pre-Constantinian arrangement between the Church and the State. Please note, I said "elements." One example is the illegal nature of religious expression in certain public situations, like school. A church that has the largest part of its history rooted in an alliance between Church and State must reach back to an earlier age to ask of Tradition what are the appropriate responses to the legal restrictions of this age. But if the Church does not ask from the Tradition, and particularly the Scriptures, questions which relate to this fact, then the answers which are obtained will not fit the real world situation.

What is true in the secularized and increasingly pagan West is certainly true in areas of missionary work. If we are serious about having the praise of the thrice-holy God spread throughout the earth, then we need to look more closely at the New Testament and see how modern missionary situations parallel the historical examples of the apostles. Therefore, with a sense of being contemporary with the first Christians, let us look at the missionary imperative they faced.

In his prayer for the disciples, our Lord acknowledges that he was sent into the world, and that he has sent the disciples in the same way. "As thou didst send me into the world, I also have sent them into the world" (Jn. 17.18). This

commission he repeats in his first appearance to the Twelve after his resurrection. "As the Father has sent me, I also send you" (Jn. 20.21).⁶

Whether the words were only directed to the Twelve or have application to all Christians is not really the question. This is because the principle that is being stated by our Lord is what is important. The incarnational principle, a pillar of Orthodox mission practice, is that the followers of the Lord must imitate his incarnation in the world. If we refuse to understand that we are sent to be incarnations of God's revelation, then we have no right to claim to be heirs of the effect of the incarnation of the Second Person of the Trinity. If we refuse to incarnate truth, then we should not expect to be transformed by *theosis*.

But someone may ask, "What is the geographical area where we practice this incarnation?" Again we hear the words of the Lord.

Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age (Mt. 28.19-20).

The apostles are commanded to spread the news to all the world. The original group fulfilled its commission and handed on the authority and responsibility to its successors. If the authority remains, does not also the responsibility for spreading the Gospel?

Certainly some Orthodox believe the responsibility remains. The first words of verse 19, "*poreftendes*," was the title of a journal and the name of a missionary study center in Athens devoted to Orthodox missionary work.⁷

⁶There are many references to the Second Person of the Trinity being sent by the First Person. See John 3.17, 34; 5.36, 38; 6.29, 38, 57; 7.29; 8.42; 10.36; 17.3; 8, 21, 23, 25.

⁷It is unconceivable that anyone interested in Orthodox missionary

The center never usurped the canonical authority of the bishops, but did serve to remind those in authority of the evangelistic responsibility that is part of the apostolic tradition.

The connection between power and witness is made even more clear in the commissioning as recorded by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles 1.8, "But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the remotest part of the earth."

The evidence that the power had been received by the Apostles was their successful evangelistic work in Acts. The gospel proclamation accompanied by the power of God resulted in the conversion of 3,000 people on the day of Pentecost. Throughout the Book of Acts we see people converted because they have come into contact with the power of God. Saint Paul can later write that this power is the Gospel, "the power of God for salvation to every one who believes." (Rom. 1.16).

One useful outline of Acts is to see Luke picking up each geographic theme mentioned in verse 8 as a heading. Acts is thus outlined: the witness in Jerusalem, Acts 1-7; the witness in all Judea and Samaria, Acts 8-12; the witness in the uttermost part of the earth, Acts 13-28.⁸

We are still contemporaries of those in Acts since we have not yet reached the uttermost parts of the earth. It is true that there were periods when men thought this commission had been fulfilled. But God continued to push open new frontiers where the name of Jesus had not been known. Even today there are areas where the Gospel has not penetrated. Only by ignoring the facts can we delude ourselves into thinking

work would not know of the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre, Porefthendes, and the journal they published from 1959 to 1969. For more information, see James J. Stamoolis, *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today* (Maryknoll, 1986), pp. 82f, 120f.

⁸Cf. T. Walker, *Missionary Ideals* (London, 1969) for an expanded version of this outline.

that the Gospel has penetrated to the ends of the earth.

It is a natural tendency to idolize previous ages. We do it in our own lives when we hark back to our age of innocence and bliss as children, forgetting how difficult childhood was and is. We do it when we look back to previous generations which experienced prosperity and peace, forgetting the pain and suffering relieved by modern medicine and technology. We do it when we think back to the ideal experience of the early Church, forgetting the sins and problems besetting those in contact with the apostles and who may have even seen the Lord. Consider the case of Ananias and Sapphira who withheld a portion of the selling price of some land but claimed to give all to appear to be pious before the church (Acts 5.1-11). How modern it all sounds. Other examples are easily given: the unbelief of those at the prayer service for Peter that he had actually been released by the power of God (Acts 12.1-17); and the problems of immorality faced by the Corinthian church. In these days, the New Testament speaks more to our situation than we imagine.

If we can see how relevant the ethical, spiritual, doctrinal and liturgical sections of the New Testament are, then we must also confess that the missionary imperatives have not been removed but still need to be fulfilled.

The whole Bible is a missionary book. The element of witness is clearly present in the Old Testament. We think of Jonah as an example of a foreign missionary sent by God to preach to Nineveh. But the whole history of Israel revolves around their election to be witnesses to God's revelation in the world. Even in the call to Abraham, the promise is to bless all the families of the earth (Gen. 12.3). There is no hint of God considering himself a tribal deity in the Old Testament. It is always the nations that are in view. We are unfortunately like the Israelites in thinking that God is our deity, reserved for people of our language and race.

In many places the intent of God is distinctly stated. "So the *Lord* said . . . 'as I live, all the earth will be filled with the glory of the *Lord*.'" (Num. 14.20-21). Or speaking of Israel, God says that he will set his "justice for a light of the

peoples" (Is 51.4). Speaking of the Servant to come, God calls him "a light of the nations, so that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (Is. 49.6). We identify this Servant with the incarnated Christ. How then can we not be concerned about mission if the salvation brought by our God has not yet reached the ends of the earth?

I have stressed some of the explicit missionary commands in the New Testament. But the whole tenor of the coming in the flesh of the Second Person of the Trinity makes all the New Testament a missionary document. God the Father sent God the Son for the salvation of the world. God had only one Son, and he was a missionary.

The Fathers

An area in which much research remains to be done is that of the Fathers and mission. Mission does not seem to be a key issue with the Fathers. But before dismissing the theme as completely irrelevant to the patristic period, one must prove that there was no thought to missionary work among the Fathers. This cannot be done. In 1962, *Porefthendes* published "Mission and Fathers: A Bibliography" in which were listed twenty-six studies on the missionary thinking of the Fathers.⁹

One of the reasons that mission is not given the prominence in the patristic age is that much of the then-known world had some form of Christian witness. But perhaps research will demonstrate that the christological controversies which took so much energy and time both detracted from the formulation of missionary theology and at the same time provided what would be the strongest basis for missionary theology.

The missiological thought of one of the Fathers would be an interesting subject for a thesis or dissertation. It would not be easy, but the results for the Church would be of great value. One of the reasons it would not be easy is that the

⁹Elias Voulgarakis, "Mission and Fathers: A Bibliography," *Porefthendes* 4 (1962) 31.

categories and questions used by the Fathers are different from those used to discuss mission theology today. Therefore, the researcher must be skilled in both understanding the patristic age and understanding the basics of missiology. May God grant that some in this audience be given this vision and task.

I am not an expert on patristics. But believing that the Fathers had an understanding of the nature of God's plan for the salvation of the world, I looked at a few of the patristic writings. In the search for a missionary imperative in Orthodox theology, we can examine some quotations from the patristic period.

Let us commence with Saint Athanasios. In *The Incarnation of the Word of God* we read,

Did anyone ever fight against the whole system of idol-worship and the whole host of demons and all magic and all the wisdom of the Greeks, at a time when all of these were strong and flourishing and taking everybody in, as did our Lord, the very Word of God? Yet he is even now invisibly exposing every man's error, and single-handed is carrying off all men from them all . . . ¹⁰

Here is mission, attributed to the work of the Lord, even in Saint Athanasios' own time. What are the idols that are worshipped today? Are they not advertised in the media as the things that will bring happiness, peace and contentment? What is the wisdom that decries the revelation of God and sweeps all before it in our public educational institutions? Is not this age as superstitious as any other and more so than many past generations? Is not our situation more like that described by Athanasios than we care to admit? What is the antidote for this?

But since the Word of God has been manifested in a body,

¹⁰St. Athanasius on the Incarnation, trans. by a religious of C.S.M.V. (Crestwood, NY., 1953), pp. 91-92.

and has made known to us his own Father, the fraud of demons is stopped and made to disappear; and men, turning their eyes to the true God, Word of the Father, forsake the idols and come to know this true God.¹¹

These are such positive words. If we did not know better, we would think that they had been written in a time of great missionary advance. But we do know better. Athanasios against the world is his epitaph. Popularity was not his goal. His goal was to be faithful to the revelation of God. He stood for the truth because only in the truth of God was salvation found. This is the basis for mission. This is why we undertake missionary work. Because God became man that mankind might have the truth of God.

A modern writer, C. S. Lewis, makes this comment on Athanasios:

He stood for the trinitarian doctrine, "whole and undefiled," when it looked as if all the civilized world was slipping back from Christianity into the religion of Arius — into one of those "sensible" synthetic religions which are so strongly recommended today and, which, then as now, included among their devotees many highly cultivated clergymen.¹²

The same temptation is ours today. We are besieged on all sides to be reasonable, to be modern, to be accepting, and above all, to be sensible. Without the gift of God in giving the Church an Athanasios, we would be overwhelmed today. But in looking for direction and a missionary voice, we can turn to his writings and believe the same Lord who banished the fraud of demons in Athanasios' day will perform the same task in our day.

Turning to Gregory of Nyssa, we find in *The Great Catechism* a proof of the Incarnation in the universal appearance of Christian places of worship.

¹¹Ibid. pp. 94-95.

¹²Ibid. p. 9.

For those who are not so vehemently antagonistic to the truth there exists no slight proof of the Deity having sojourned here . . . throughout the whole world there have arisen in the name of Jesus temples and altars and a holy and unbloody priesthood and a sublime philosophy, which teaches, by deed and example more than by word, a disregard of this bodily life and a contempt of death . . . ¹³

Here we have a clue as to why what we would call mission is not more prominently displayed in the Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa can speak of a worldwide dispersion of the Gospel. Can we? If a proof of the divine sojourn is to be found in the worldwide praise for Jesus, then are we not remiss for not doing more to provide the material evidence for that proof? Is not the lack of worldwide praise in the name of Jesus a condemnation to those who claim to hold the correct understanding of that praise?

Do we confess one thing with our lips yet fail to live in accordance with our creed? One evidence is the spread of the Faith in every place. Another evidence was the lifestyle of the Christians. If the evidence of the Incarnation was the disregard of bodily life and a contempt of death, what do our actions give evidence of?

I mentioned above the clue to the lack of prominence of mission in the Fathers being the then-worldwide dispersion of the Gospel. But notice at what cost it was dispersed. Again we find the imperative for which we seek, that of making known the Gospel of the Incarnation at all cost, even of life itself. Is this our attitude today? If it is not, can we call ourselves keepers of the Tradition as found in the Fathers?

We must not easily dismiss the need for the whole world to know the name of Jesus and to confess him as their God. For Saint Cyril of Jerusalem can say:

This name caught the world in its grasp: for Jews are only in a certain region of the world, but Christians reach to the

¹³*Gregory of Nyssa, vol. 5, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, ed. William Moore and Henry Austin Wilson (Grand Rapids, 1972), p. 490.

ends of the world; for it is the name of the only-begotten Son of God that is proclaimed.¹⁴

As the borders of the known world increase, so does the need to have the name proclaimed to new areas. For if we do not proclaim the name, we stand under condemnation for restricting the name of the only-begotten Son of God to a certain region of the world. That means that we either do not think that our Savior is the Savior of the world or we are content to have a regionalized religion claiming certain lands (or parts of lands) as ours and ignoring the rest.

If we believe that Jesus Christ is the only Savior and is truly God, then there is an imperative upon us to spread this name to all the world. There is no excuse for lack of means. In many periods of church history, gospel advances were made with less resources than we have available today. "This name caught the world in its grasp." Can we say this of our day? I think not. What plans are we forming before God to make this a reality?"

Where will the resources come from? That is unfortunately the first question many will ask. That question, too, can be answered from the writings of the Fathers. In his eighteenth homily on the Acts of the Apostles, Saint John Chrysostom pleads for those with estates and villages in their possession to construct churches on their lands. He tells them they are anxious to construct baths and markets, and other buildings for profit, but care not for the profit of the workers' souls.

When you see thorns . . . you cut them up, you burn, you utterly destroy them, to rid your land of the hurt thence arising. And seest thou the laborers themselves overrun with thorns, and dost not cut them up, and art thou not afraid of the Owner who shall call thee to account?"¹⁵

¹⁴*St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, vol. 7, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, trans. Edwin Hamilton Gifford (Grand Rapids, 1974), p. 62.

¹⁵*St. John Chrysostom, vol. 6, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, trans. J. Walker, J. Sheppard and H. Browne (Grand Rapids, 1975), pp. 117f.

We take pains to care for our own property and perchance even for the property of the Church. But what of God's property? Do we not regard our obligation to care for the world that he created and desire to come to salvation? For Chrysostom's hearers, the excuse of insufficient means was not accepted.

Make for a beginning a small house to serve as a temple. Thy successor will build a porch, his successor will make other additions, and the whole shall be put to thy account. Thou givest little, and receivest the reward for the whole. At any rate, make a beginning: lay a foundation.¹⁶

Some have laid a foundation in the matter of Orthodox mission involvement; some have even built small houses. More need to be challenged by these words of Chrysostom to make a beginning. And for the beginning already made, more must join in the work.

We have means, we have funds, we have time, but we choose to spend it on other things and in other pursuits. In this we show our lack of appreciation for God and his goodness. Chrysostom has an antidote for this in another of his homilies:

After acknowledging to him our general obligations . . . let each one of us reckon . . . the benefits of God . . . if we call to mind, and make diligent enquiry of these two points, what sins we have committed against God, and what good he has done to us, shall thus be both thankful, and give him freely all that is ours.¹⁷

Is it possible to draw the corollary that if we are not thankful and do not freely give, then we have not tasted the goodness of God?

For one who has tasted the goodness of God and received

¹⁶Ibid. p. 119.

¹⁷Ibid. pp. 237-38.

benefits from his hand, no sacrifice is too great to demonstrate that love. As Chrysostom said to his congregation in Constantinople:

There is nothing I love more than you, no, not even light itself. I would gladly have my eyes put out ten thousand times over, if it were possible by this means to convert your souls; so much is your salvation dearer to me than light itself.¹⁸

Marvel not then that the speaker of these words is considered a doctor of the Church. Who would not be attended by such a physician? Here is found an imperative for mission work, the love of others that compels the missionary to seek the salvation of their souls. And such love is understood and by God's grace bears fruit in mission work and congregational work as well. For we all know that it is possible to go through the correct motions, but not have our hearers' salvation at heart. If we would be heirs of the Fathers, then we must ask God for the love for those outside the faith that they had.

Listen again to Chrysostom:

Nothing is more frigid than a Christian who cares not for the salvation of others. Thou canst not here plead poverty: for she that cast down the two mites shall be thine accuser [Lk. 21.1]. And Peter said, "Silver and gold I have none" [Acts 3.6]. . . . Thou canst not plead lowness of birth: for they too were ignoble men, and of ignoble parents. Thou canst not allege want of education: for they too were "unlearned men" [Acts 4.13]. Even if thou be a slave therefore and a runaway slave, thou canst perform thy part: for such was Onesimos . . . Thou canst not plead infirmity: for such was Timothy . . .¹⁹

For Chrysostom, everyone had a part to play. Commenting

¹⁹Ibid. p. 133.

on the descent of the Holy Spirit in tongues of fire, he writes: "Was it upon the twelve that it came? Not so; but upon the hundred and twenty."²⁰ They were all filled so that they could share the news of salvation. If we have received the same Holy Spirit, is our obligation any less to proclaim the words of God and to use our means to enable others to proclaim those works in distant situations?

One final word from the past. Is it only in proclamation that Chrysostom places his emphasis? By no means.

Let us win them, therefore, by our life. Many, even among the untaught, have in that way astounded the minds of philosophers, as having exhibited in themselves also that philosophy which lies in deeds, and uttered a voice clearer than a trumpet by their mode of life and self-denial.²¹

With regard to missionary method, for those who would bemoan the loss of miracles which accompanied the early expansion in the Acts of the Apostles, Chrysostom has a rebuke:

For even if miracles were wrought now, who would be persuaded? . . . For so it is, that our upright living seems unto the many the more trustworthy argument of the two: miracles admitting of a bad construction on the party of obstinate men: whereas a pure life will have abundant power to stop the mouth of the devil himself.²²

Here is our mission imperative: we must seek the salvation of others. We need not miracles, but pure lives. We need not extraordinary incomes, but the widow's mite in that the resources given to God accomplish his purpose. But we hide not behind the mite, when it is in our power to give more. "Where your treasure is, there will be your heart also"

²⁰Ibid. p. 25.

²¹*St. John Chrysostom, vol. 7, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, trans. Talbot W. Chambers (Grand Rapids, 1969), p. 15.

²²Ibid. p. 33.

(Lk. 12.34). Our hearts and our actions condemn us and tell us clearly what our concerns are.

The Fathers speak of mission in terms of the worldwide dispersion of the Gospel and of the concern for the news of salvation being spread to everyone. This imperative does not die with the end of the patristic age. If we are the heirs of the Fathers, then their concerns for the worldwide establishment of the Church must be ours.

The Liturgy

It is necessary to demonstrate here the connection between mission and the Liturgy. That has been done elsewhere.²³ Rather, what I would like to do is to discuss how the Liturgy, and in particular the Eucharist, reveal the mission imperative.

It may seem strange that the gathering of the Church in worship is an occasion for missionary emphasis. But if these are our thoughts, then it is indicative of how we are prevented by familiarity from seeing the eucharistic act as a proclamation event. This is what Saint Paul called it in 1 Corinthians 11.26, "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes." I am not suggesting that we are not proclaiming the Lord's death; that is very clear in the Liturgy. Equally clear is the proclamation of the salvation that the death of Christ brought.

But for the purpose of missionary imperative, we need to note that Saint Paul reminds us that the Eucharist is for us until he comes again. What will he do when he comes? Judge the world on the basis of the nations' and individuals' belief in the Son of God. Therefore, the service of thanksgiving, the Eucharist, should also be a reminder that one day opportunity for thanksgiving will be over, and the judgment

²³In particular, one can consult Ion Bria, ed. *Go Forth in Peace: Orthodox Perspectives on Mission* (Geneva, 1986); Alexander Schmemmann, *Church, World, Mission* (Crestwood, NY., 1979); Idem, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood, NY., 1977); and James Stamoolis, *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today*, especially pp. 86-102.

throne will appear. What greater imperative for mission is there than to celebrate the mystery of God Incarnate offering himself for our salvation and know that the time of opportunity is passing. "Behold, now is 'the acceptable time,' behold now is 'the day of salvation' " (2 Cor. 6.2). As Saint Paul wrote to the Romans, "And this do, knowing the time, that it is already the hour for you to awaken from sleep; for now salvation is nearer to us than when we believed" (Rom. 13.11).

There is another aspect to the missionary imperative as found in the Liturgy. When we look at the prayers, we see that the scope of the work of Christ, and consequently our commemoration of it, is not limited to our congregation.

Consider two phrases found in the *Anaphora* and the *Epi-klesis*. In the *Anaphora*, the priest says that our Lord "surrendered himself for the life of the world (*cosmos*)."²⁴ Here, in a few short words, we have the purpose of God explained. The Second Person of the Trinity surrendered his life for the life of the world. The universal mission of salvation is also found in the Epiklesis when the priest prays: "We also offer this spiritual sacrifice for the whole world (*oikoumenes*)."²⁴

I will not enter into the discussion as to whether all or most of the inaudible prayers should be said aloud for the benefit of the congregation.²⁵ But it is indeed problematic that these parts are not said audibly. For what would better express the missionary concern of the Liturgy than for the congregation to understand that the spiritual drama taking

²⁴I am using as my source the older text of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese as found in *The Orthodox Liturgy* (Garwood, NJ., 1976). It is interesting to note that two words are used for world in the Greek. The first, the biblical term, *cosmos*, can carry some element of ambiguity in the Bible since the *cosmos* can mean the world system to be opposed by God's people. But the meaning is clear. Christ died for the *cosmos*, even the *cosmos* that hated him. The Byzantine word, *oikoumenes*, more clearly relates to the inhabited world. Both clearly testify to the extent of the mission imperative.

²⁵Some of this discussion can be found in the section by Nicon D. Patrinos in *The Orthodox Liturgy*. See also Stanley S. Harakas, *Living the Liturgy* (Minneapolis, 1974).

place is not only for them, but for the whole world?

It is too easy for any congregation to think that the benefits of the Eucharist are reserved for it alone. And why would they not think this way? It is performed before them, for them to partake of (though, for the most part, infrequently) and not for outsiders. Actually, as those who press for liturgical renewal would maintain, it does not even seem to be performed for laity, or at least not for their instruction.

In the search for an imperative of mission, we must not ignore the purpose of the Eucharist. The priest confesses in his prayers that the Lord offered himself for the whole world and the sacrifice the priest is offering is also for the whole world. Therefore, the extent of the mission of the Church is confessed at every eucharistic service.

Are we dulled by the familiar? Do we need to look again at the very confession we make and the prayers we say, and then ask humbly for God's forgiveness? The imperative for mission is preserved in the liturgical formulae. May this imperative burn within us every time we offer these prayers in worship.

Conclusion

It is interesting to see that when we do not plan for mission, the triune God moves his Church out. Is it an accident of history that Orthodoxy exists on six continents? I think not. The sovereign God moved his Church out and into position. The question is, what advantage will the Church make of the places where God has established it? "Behold, I have set before you an open door, which no one is able to shut; I know that you have but little power, and yet you have kept my word and have not denied my name" (Rev. 3.8).

The doors are open; opened by God himself. Will we use the opportunity to go through them for the sake of the Lord Jesus? If we do, only then can it be said of us that we kept his word and did not deny his name.

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The Legacy of Constantinople in the Russian Liturgical Tradition

LAWRENCE BARRIGER

We knew not whether we were on heaven or earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or beauty and we are at a loss to describe it. *The Primary Chronicle*

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WORSHIP OF THE IMPERIAL CITY by the envoys of Vladimir can leave little doubt of the role Constantinople would play in the liturgical life of the nascent Russian Church. Throughout the centuries of the Russian Church's existence, its churchmen would compare their worship with that of the "Great Church" — often with troublesome results.

The Byzantine Liturgical Tradition in the Tenth Century

At the time of the "Baptism of Rus'" in 988, the worship of the Church of Constantinople was still in a state of growth. The final defeat of Iconoclasm brought forth a period of creativity. In the great Church of Hagia Sophia, the "chanted office" was sung faithfully.¹ Due to its greatly expanded hymnography, the synthesis of the Palestinian monastic

¹For a description of the "chanted office," see St. Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Precatione*, PG 155.536G or St. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Treatise on Prayer*, trans. Harry Simmons (Brookline, MA, 1986).

offices and the litanies and prayers of the chanted office, developed by Saint Theodore the Studite over a century earlier (d. 826), was becoming more popular. The first Studite "typika" were composed in the ninth and tenth centuries.²

In the ninth and tenth centuries the *Discourse on the Tradition of the Holy Liturgy*, ascribed to Pseudo-Proklos, appeared.³ This document is an "apology" for the increasing use of the Anaphora of Saint John Chrysostom. It relates how Saint Basil the Great abbreviated the Liturgy of Saint James, and how Saint John Chrysostom, out of concern for human weakness, did the same to the Liturgy of Saint Basil. In the ninth-century Barbarini Codex,⁴ the Liturgies of Saint John and Saint Basil are reversed from the modern order; that of Saint Basil coming first. Before the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the Liturgy of Saint John became ascendant, leaving the Anaphora of Basil to serve as the Eucharistic prayer only ten times a year. This is a classic proof of Baumstark's axiom that "sacred seasons retain ancient usages."

This ascendancy of the Liturgy of Saint John was a manifestation of the vitality of the Byzantine Church to expand beyond its borders. The Liturgy of Saint John was translated into the Old Slavonic language by Saint Cyril (Constantine) for use in the Moravian mission of A.D. 863⁵, and again became the prime vehicle for the export of the Orthodox faith and Byzantine political influence in Kievan Rus'.

As far as the text of the prayers is concerned, the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, at the time of the conversion of Vladimir, was remarkably similar to that in use today.⁶ The

²Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, MN, 1986), p. 276.

³Proklos, *Tractatus de Traditione Divinae Missae*, PG 65.849-50.

⁴The text is given in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), p. 385.

⁵Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), p. 109.

⁶See the eleventh-century manuscript published in C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies Chiefly from Original Authorities* (Cambridge, 1884),

“Office of Antiphons” has become generally a fixed part of the beginning of the Liturgy. The major differences between our contemporary celebrations and those of the tenth century (textually speaking, the development of external ceremonial is another story) lie in the further developments of the office of the Proskomide and interpolations into the text, such as the “Prayer of the Third Hour” at the Epiklesis (found today in the Russian Church and other Slavic Churches). By examining these elements, we can acquire some idea of how the Church in the lands of Rus’ was affected by its contacts with the Byzantine world.

The Office of the Proskomide in the tenth century centered about the “Lamb.” The ninth-century interpretation of Patriarch Germanos’ commentary on the Divine Liturgy provides a description of this rudimentary rite:

Thus the priest takes the oblation which is in a basket, from the deacon or the subdeacon, he takes the lance, cleanses it, then cutting the oblation in the form of a cross he says, “As a sheep led to the slaughter and as a lamb before its shearers is silent.” Having said this, he places the oblation on the holy diskos, points over it, saying: “He does not open His mouth: in His humility His judgment was taken away. Who will recount His generation? For His life is taken up from the earth.” Having said these things he takes the holy chalice and the deacon pours water and wine into it. Then the deacon says, “Blood and water poured from His side, and he who saw it has borne witness, and his witness is true.” After this, he places the holy chalice on the divine table and, pointing at the bread, the sacrificed lamb, and the wine, the blood poured out, says: “There are three who bear witness: the Spirit, the water and the blood, and the three are one” (1 Jn 5.8), now and forever and for the ages. Then he takes the censer,

p. 107. (Disregard Swainson’s comments on the “growth” of the Liturgy there, however.)

adds incense, and says the prayer of the offering.⁷

According to the Canons of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople, by the ninth century it was the custom to offer a loaf in commemoration of individuals.⁸ This simple form of Proskomide ceremony was brought to Kiev by its Byzantine clergy; however, it did not remain simple for long.

The Establishment of the Metropolitinate of Kiev

By 997 the city of Kiev had its own Metropolitan⁹ who was, like many of his successors up to the fifteenth century, of Greek extraction. The Metropolitan of Kiev was, of course, subject to the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople and was the means by which the Patriarchate conveyed its programs to the land of Rus'.

It is not surprising to note that the architecture of Kievan churches, as well as their names, e. g., Saint Irene, Saint George, and Hagia Sophia, were copied after those of Constantinople. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries monasteries comprised of men from Rus' were to be found on Mount Athos.¹⁰ Saint Anthony, founder of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, visited Mt. Athos before 1033.¹¹

In addition to the Divine Liturgy of the Great Church, the Church of Kiev also received from Constantinople the "chanted office."¹² However, in less than seventy-five years the venerable abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, Theodosios,

⁷St. Germanos of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, Greek text and English translation, Introduction and Commentary by Paul Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1984), p. 73.

⁸Agaprios and Nikodemos of Mt. Athos, *The Rudder*, trans. D. Cumings, (Chicago, IL, 1957), p. 965.

⁹Ihor Ševčenko, *The Byzantine Roots of Ukrainian Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), p. 18.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 19.

¹¹Ibid. p. 20.

¹²Nicholas Uspensky, *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church*, trans. and ed. Paul Lazor (Crestwood, 1985), p. 91.

abandoned the *akolouthia asmatike* in favor of the Studite typikon.¹³ Perhaps this was under the influence of Mount Athos, where the Studite ordo was well accepted at this time.¹⁴ As a result, the Studite rule and that of the "chanter office" existed side by side in Rus', the former in the monasteries, the latter among parish churches. This situation existed until the end of the fourteenth century when the *Diataxis* of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos was introduced into Russia.

The Early Slavonic Liturgikons

There are extant two Slavonic Liturgikons or "Sluzheb-niks" from the twelfth century: that of Anthony the Roman (†1147) [Moscow Synodal Library Cod. 342]¹⁵ and that of Barlaam of Khutinsk (†1192) [Moscow Synodal Library Cod. 343].¹⁶ The "Sluzhebnik" of Anthony the Roman contains only the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. That of Barlaam contains all three liturgies; however, the Liturgy of Basil precedes that of Saint John Chrysostom.

As mentioned earlier, the development of the Proskomide and several other seemingly minor points can serve as an indicator of the Greek influence on the Slavonic liturgical practice of Rus', and later of Russia and the Ukraine.

It must be pointed out that the development of the Proskomide, the use or non-use of the "Troparion of the Third Hour," and the other points mentioned here are not the only areas in the celebration of the Liturgy that have changed in the past centuries. For example, the entrance prayers of the priest and deacon vary as much as the Proskomide rite. In the interest of brevity these points have been selected to the exclusion of others.

The Sluzhebnik of Anthony the Roman has a simple rite of

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Taft, *The Liturgy*, p. 276.

¹⁵A. Gorsky and K. Nevostrujev, *Opyisanije Slavjanskikh Rukopisej Moskovskoj Synodalnoj Biblioteki* 5 vols. (Moscow, 1855-69), 3, i, pp. 1ff.

¹⁶Ibid. 3, i, pp. 5ff.

Proskomide: the priest is directed to divide the first "loaf" into four and to "offer" the others.¹⁷ The Sluzebnik of Barlaam calls for the preparation of only one prosphora and this is performed by the deacon.¹⁸ There is implicit testimony that, by the beginning of the twelfth century, saints and the departed were being commemorated in the Proskomide. Therefore, these Sluzebniks would seem to relate an earlier ritual of Proskomide than was contemporary in the Church of Constantinople. Addressing the question of whether it was permissible to celebrate the Liturgy with only one prosphora, Peter, Chartophylax of Constantinople (1091-1118), stated it was appropriate, provided there was no commemoration of a saint or of a deceased person.¹⁹

At the same time, Nicholas Grammatikos (1084-1111) prescribed four breads for the rite: the first being the "Lamb," the second for the Mother of God, the third for Michael and Gabriel and all the bodiless powers, the fourth, John the Baptist, the apostles, prophets, holy hierarchs, the saint of the day and all the saints. If any commemoration of the living or departed was to be made, then a loaf was to be offered for each.²⁰ One can only speculate whether the "commemorations" at this time included offering the whole "prosphora" or only a part of it. It would seem that the latter would be the case for practical considerations. Despite the directives of Patriarch Nicholas cited above, there still existed considerable freedom in the commemorations at this time.²¹

The rubric found in the Sluzebnik of Barlaam that the deacon prepare the prosphora is not unusual at this time.²²

¹⁷Ibid. 3.1, pp. 1ff.

¹⁸Ibid. 3.1, pp. 5ff.

¹⁹A. Dmitrievsky, *Bohosluzenije v Russkoj Tserkvi v XVI v.* (Kazan, 1894) p. 85.

²⁰Casimir Kucharek, *The Byzantine — Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Allendale, NJ, 1971), p. 280.

²¹See the Typikon of the Empress Irene, wife of Alexis Komnenos, where seven prosphora are prescribed: PG 127.1056 B.C.

²²Originally the deacons were charged with bringing the gifts to the

This practice may have continued in some areas until the early fifteenth century. Saint Symeon of Thessalonike objects to the practice as if it still exists.²³ By the thirteenth century the Slavonic Sluzebniki began to reflect the growing Byzantine expansion of the rite of "Proskomide." One manuscript of the period prescribes the use of five loaves: the "Lamb," the Mother of God, the saints, the living, and the departed.²⁴

The parallel development of the Proskomide commemorations in the Greek Church and that of Kievan Rus' is a product of the policy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in dealing with the Church of Kiev. In the roughly two and a half centuries between the establishment of the Metropolitan see of Kiev and the fall of Kiev to the Mongols, only two Metropolitans were natives of Rus', all others were of Greek extraction. In addition, there was a strong ethnic Greek presence felt in the lesser positions of the Church.

Even before the Mongol invasion of 1240, the importance of Kiev as a trading center had begun to decline. In 1299 the Metropolitan of Kiev, as a result of the Mongol devastation, moved his residence to the city of Vladimir, capital of the principality of Suzdal'.²⁵ Despite the Mongol problem, the Metropolitan of Kiev still maintained a close relationship with the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1326, the Metropolitan Theognostos, a Greek, moved his residence to Moscow.²⁶ This transference of residence made the principality

altar; also in the symbolic interpretations of the Liturgy popular at this time in which the Proskomide was interpreted to represent the birth of Christ, the deacon, who represented the angels, was seen as better suited to the task.

²³PG 155.290.

²⁴Χρυσόστομικα, issued on the 1500th anniversary of the death of St. John Chrysostom (Rome, 1908), pp. 873-74.

²⁵Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, 1962), p. 218.

²⁶Ibid.

of Moscow the spiritual heir of Kiev, and as such, a spiritual and political center of unity for the other principalities, several of which were under Polish and Lithuanian rule.

The fourteenth century was a time of great vitality for the Church of Constantinople. The Hesychast controversy led to a new flowering of theological thought in the works of Saint Gregory Palamas. This century also produced two of the best known liturgical and sacramental commentaries of the Byzantine Church: Nicholas Kabasilas' *On the Divine Liturgy* and *The Life in Christ*. The Patriarchate of Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was able to maintain and strengthen its spiritual authority at home and abroad in the face of a dying Empire. In 1370 Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos wrote:

Since God has appointed our humility as a leader of all Christians found everywhere in the oikoumene as protector and guardian of their souls, all of them depend on me their father and teacher.²⁷

One of the by-products of the Hesychast movement was the desire of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-54 and 1364-76) to regulate the liturgical life of the Byzantine Church, which, as manuscripts from the time reveal, was in a chaotic situation.

The involvement of the Patriarchs of Constantinople in the affairs of the Russian Church at this time is well illustrated by the appointments of the Metropolitans Alexis and Roman.²⁸

The "Commemorations" of the Fourteenth Century

Beginning prior to the end of the thirteenth century and continuing into the fourteenth, the number of commemorations

²⁷John L. Boojamra, "The Affair of Alexis and Roman: Two Documents of 1361," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28 (1983) 175.

²⁸*Ibid.*

began to expand. Unlike Western Liturgy, whose genius is brevity and order, Eastern Liturgy seemingly operates on a theory of "accumulation." If a little is good, then more must certainly be better! Practical liturgical gestures, whose original meaning is lost, have a tendency to become "spiritualized" and continue to exist. (As a modern example, some argue that the "Litany for the Catechumens" must be retained even though the Catechumens, as a group, no longer exist. The Litany is given a new "spiritual" interpretation: the "catechumens" that the priest calls upon to depart are the worldly and sinful thoughts that exist in our hearts).

There are several manuscripts of the period which show the direction that the expansion of commemorations began to take. The first is a manuscript of the thirteenth century (Patmos 719) which lists the commemorations this way:

. . . and he takes the star and fixes it over the "Lamb" saying, "A star shone from heaven and stood over where the child was." Then, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established, all the might of them by the word of His mouth" (Ps 32.6 LXX).

(There is no mention of a second *prosphora*, which would have been for a commemoration of the Mother of God. This was probably an error of omission on the part of the copyist.) For the third *prosphora*, he says: "Accept, O Lord, this sacrifice through the intercession of the honorable prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, John." For the rest of the *prosphoras*, he says: "Through the intercessions of the holy, glorious and illustrious Apostles, of our holy and God-bearing Fathers, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Athanasios, Cyril, Nicholas the Wonderworker, Spyridon, Amphilochios, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Aberkios, Gregory the Wonderworker, Gregory the Great . . . and of Gregory of Nyssa." And if he has other *prosphoras*, he says: "In honor of the holy (saint of the day) whose day this is." Then, he says: "In honor of all the saints." And taking incense and the censer the deacon

offers these to the priest . . . ²⁹ There is no commemoration here of the living or the dead.

Another manuscript from the Esphigmenon Monastery of Mount Athos, dated 1306, commemorates the following saints: the first prosphora, the "Lamb" (already with the usual ceremonies with the lance); the second prosphora, the Mother of God; the third, the "bodiless powers of heaven," the Forerunner John the Baptist and all the prophets (a note in the margin places the words, "through the power of the honorable and life-giving Cross" before the commemoration of the bodiless powers); the fourth prosphora, "Of the holy, glorious, illustrious Apostles of the twelve and of the seventy, of the holy and righteous Joachim and Anna, of the holy God-crowned rulers Constantine and Helena, of our fathers among the saints, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa . . ." (and four more Gregories are listed). The manuscript goes on to list dozens of saints, however, like those above, they are listed in categories: hierarchs and hieromartyrs, archdeacons, unmercenaries, miracle-workers and healers, great martyrs, God-bearing fathers (monastics), women martyrs, of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Synod and of all " . . . fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, teachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, ascetics, and every spirit made perfect in faith." The saint of the day is remembered and "of all the saints through whose prayers, O Lord, accept this sacrifice upon Your heavenly altar." The fifth prosphora commemorates the living in lengthy fashion, beginning with the *Basileus* and his palace. This same prosphora is used to commemorate the departed and "most unworthy" celebrant of the Liturgy.³⁰

This manuscript contains a Proskomide rite that is quite familiar to us despite some aspects of the arrangements of

²⁹A. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanije Liturgichcheskich Rukopisej Chranijascichsja v Bibliotekach Pravoslavnaho Vostoka*; Vol. 1, *Typica* (Kiev, 1895); Vol. 2, *Euchologia* (Kiev, 1901); Vol. 3, *Typica*, Part 2 (St. Petersburg, 1917), Vol. 2, p. 172.

³⁰*Ibid.* pp. 263-64.

the categories of saints and the rather long list of names. This manuscript does not mention the order of the particles on the diskos or even if particles are cut out (it would be safe to assume that they were on the testimony of Kabasilas).³¹

There is one more Greek manuscript that dates from the fourteenth century which requires examination. In this Italo-Greek manuscript (Grottaferrata I. B. iii), after the usual ceremonies of the "Lamb," the priest takes a second prosphora for the Mother of God, saying, "Through the prayers of our Lady and Mother, the Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, have mercy and save our souls for You are good and love mankind." A third prosphora commemorates the powers of heaven, John the Baptist, the apostles, the saint of the day and all the saints. After this, the priest is directed to raise the bread up with the tips of his fingers and to say a prayer that is an expanded version of the above commemorations, adding Saint Basil the Great, John Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian along with Saint Nicholas.³²

In this last prayer it is tempting to see the origin of the Proskomide rite and its link with the "litya" prayer at vespers. The list of commemorations, with remembrances of the living and the dead, is certainly more conservative and earlier than that of the previous example. However, the rubric about raising the bread leads one to suspect a Latin influence here. Indeed, the same manuscript, as printed in Goar's *Euchologion*, contains a baptism ordo of which the second half is a Greek translation of the contemporary Latin service. In churches where a strong tendency towards "Latinization" existed, such as the Italo-Greek or the later Ukraine and Carpatho-Russian Uniate churches, it is not unusual to find many older practices mixed with Latin practices. The conservative list of saints presented here would seem to be drawn

³¹Nicholas Kabasilas, *On the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London, 1966), p. 39.

³²Brightman, p. 548.

out of the twelfth century rather than the fourteenth.

A Slavonic Proskomide Commemoration List from the Fourteenth Century

There are five Sluzebniki that survived from the time of the Mongol invasion to the time of Metropolitan Kiprian.³³ None of these speak of the number of prosphora to be used in the Proskomide, but only speak of "portions," which are cut in honor of the saint of the day, or all the saints, the living and the dead. Only one of these mentions a commemoration of the Mother of God.³⁴ These manuscripts, the majority of which date from the fourteenth century, do not reveal the kind of development of commemorations found in the Esphigmenon manuscript, but reflect the practices of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some of the reasons behind this conservatism may be the difficulty of travel during the immediate time of the Mongol invasion, the relocation of the residence of the Metropolitan of Kiev from Kiev to Moscow, and the amount of time it took for liturgical thinking to spread in handwritten manuscript form.

A Sluzebnik from the western part of Rus' does survive which reflects some development in the commemorations: it is a manuscript that antedates the year 1342 and contains the three liturgies in our contemporary order.³⁵ After the "Lamb" has been placed on the diskos, and water and wine are placed in the chalice (to the words of 1 Jn 5.8), a "portion" is taken with the priest saying, "O Lord, accept this offering for the honor and glory of our lady and mistress the Birthgiver of God and ever-Virgin Mary, through whose prayers save our souls." A second "portion" is taken out. The priest says: "O Lord, accept this offering for the honor and glory of the holy, heavenly powers, Michael and Gabriel,

³³P. Kovaliv, *Molytovnyk — Sluzebnik, Pamjatika XIV Stol'ita* (New York, 1960), p. 163.

³⁴Ibid. p. 164.

³⁵Ibid.

of John the Forerunner, of the holy leaders of the Apostles, Peter and Paul; through their prayers save our souls. Likewise for the honor of (the saint to be commemorated) . . . ”

A commemoration is made for the living: “Accept, O Lord, this offering for the honor and glory of your servant (name is said) for his health and salvation for the forgiveness of his sins . . . ”

A portion is taken out for the departed: “Accept, O Lord, this offering for your departed servant (name is said) for the forgiveness of sins voluntary or involuntary. Grant rest to his soul in a place of light where he may behold the light of your face.”³⁶

This Sluzebnik’s rite of Proskomide, while not as expanded in terms of the list of saints as those Greek manuscripts previously looked at, does show some development in terms of its commemorations for the living and the dead. The commemorations that it presents resemble those of Nicholas Grammatikos of the early twelfth century already examined; but the spirit of the commemorations for the living and the dead reflects the words of Nicholas Kabasilas, a contemporary of the manuscript:

For the whole of the offertory is made in memory of the Lord and his death is called to mind throughout. The words which he now says are, “To the glory of the all-holy Mother of God, in honor of such and such a saint, and for the remission of sins of the living and the dead . . . ”

This power (to become children of God) is contained in Holy Baptism and in the other sacraments, whereby we are made children of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Secondly, she has already shared in the heritage of this kingdom in actual fact, through the thousands of her members whom she has sent to their heavenly home, and whom Saint Paul calls the “firstborn, who are written

³⁶Ibid. 2, 6-7.

in heaven.” It is in this way that the Church has already received these great gifts. But for those of her children who are living in the world and still running the race to gain the crown, for whom the result is uncertain, and for those who have passed away without sure and certain hope the kingdom has yet to be obtained.”³⁷

The Church of Kievan Rus', devastated by the Mongol invasion and scattered by its aftermath, clung to the form of Proskomide and, by extension, to the worship that it had before, while development continued in the Greek Church.

The Diataxis of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos

Philotheos was *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos before being chosen as bishop of Heraklea in 1347 and patriarch of Constantinople twice, from 1353-54 and again from 1364-76.

In his second term as patriarch, he promulgated a “diataxis” intended not to reform the worship of the Byzantine Church, but to provide a standard pattern, an “ordering” to overcome the tremendous variety of liturgical forms then in existence.

It was this *Diataxis* that standardized the Typikon of Saint Sabas of Jerusalem as the norm in the Byzantine Church for the celebration of Matins, Vespers, and the other daily offices. The *Diataxis* also sought to provide the pattern for the Proskomide commemorations.

Philotheos prescribed the use of five prosphora for the rite: for the “Lamb,” the Mother of God, the saints, the living and the dead, from which one or more particles could be cut. Whether or not the contemporary nine particles were cut out for the saints is unclear and the surviving evidence does not agree on this, as we shall see in a moment. The particle for the Mother of God was simply to be “large” and this and the other particles for the saints were to be placed “on the

³⁷Nicholas Kabasilas, p. 40.

left" of the "Lamb" while the particles for the living and the dead are placed beneath the "Lamb."³⁸ The categories of the saints apart from the Mother of God, are set out at nine, although there is great variation in the saints to be named.³⁹

The regulation placing the "Lamb" at the "left" made it unclear whether this was from the point of perspective of the "Lamb" or of the priest.⁴⁰ This was the cause of some controversy, but it was already accepted by Saint Symeon of Thessalonike (†1430) that this was from the point of the "Lamb."⁴¹

The *Diataxis* of Philotheos was widely accepted in both Byzantine territories and eventually by all Orthodox Christians. However, it did not mark the end of liturgical development, but provided a solid foundation for it. The commemoration of the Proskomide continued to develop and to diverge even from the *Diataxis*. Saint Symeon of Thessalonike, only several generations removed from Philotheos, describes the commemoration rite that is virtually that of today with the particle for the Mother of God on the right of the "Lamb" and the saints, beginning with the angels and then John the Baptist, the apostles, etc., on the left of the "Lamb."⁴²

The *Diataxis* of Philotheos, wherever it went, often had to absorb local popular usages and the lack of printing presses to enable corrected exemplars to be distributed, thus ensuring that diversities between the churches would continue. (Of course, printing presses did not solve this problem either; they only enabled — and still enable — it to exist in large volume.)

³⁸N. Krasnoseltsev, *Materialy dlja Istoriji Cinoposlidovanija Liturgiji Sv. Ioanna Zlatoustaho* (Kazan, 1889), pp. 43ff.

³⁹Dmitrievsky, 2, p. 820.

⁴⁰See S. Petrides, "La Preparation des Oblats dans le Rit Grec," *Echos d' Orient*, 3, (1900) 75-77.

⁴¹PG 155.279. The commemoration is on the left of the priest, but on the right of the "Lamb."

⁴²Ibid.

A Fifteenth-Century Proskomide Commemoration

In addition to the testimony of Symeon of Thessalonike, there are several manuscripts from the fifteenth century that provide information on the manner of the Proskomide commemorations. The first is dated by Brightman as being "of about" 1430.⁴³ It is Paris Graec. 2509; and after the filling of the chalice, the priest removes the particle for the Mother of God saying the prayer still found today. The psalm verse is not said, however. (It would seem that this verse, "The Queen stood at Your right hand . . ." (Ps 44.8 LXX) was included to resolve the issue of "right hand" and "left hand.")

The priest is then directed to place this particle at the right side "of the holy bread" that is, the "Lamb." The rubrics then specify, "And then taking another (*prospora*) he says . . ." Here follows the commemoration of the saints, beginning with the Holy Cross, the angels, John the Baptist, the apostles, the "hierarchs and ecumenical teachers, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom and all the holy hierarchs, the great martyrs, George, Demetrios, Theodore and all the holy martyrs." It continues by mentioning the ascetics, Anthony Euthymios and Sabbas and all ascetics, all unmercenary healers including Kosmas and Damianos, for the righteous "ancestors of God" (no names), for the saint of the day and all of the saints, "through whose prayers, O Lord, accept this sacrifice upon Your heavenly altar."

There is no mention here of removing particles for each class of saints nor the position of their particles on the *diskos*. It would seem that, in contrast to Saint Symeon, all were commemorated with one particle. There is another fifteenth-century manuscript in which the rubrics call for the saints (a similar listing to the one above but much expanded with names in each category) to be commemorated with one particle, but this is placed beneath the "Lamb" and not at the right or left side, conserving a pre-Philothean usage.⁴⁴ This

⁴³Brightman, p. 551.

⁴⁴Given in Dmitrievsky, 2, p. 604.

manuscript also calls for seven prosphora, and the deacon removes his own commemoration from an eighth.

The Paris manuscript continues by directing the celebrant to take another prosphora for the commemoration of the rulers, the bishop, the fathers and brothers in Christ and "for all Christian souls." The rubric says that he remembers whomever he wishes, and then he remembers all his own unworthiness.

The rest of the Proskomide rite generally follows the modern usage, except that Psalm 33.3 (LXX) introduces the "star" and then the words still in use today. (This is a vestige of the original symbolism of the star; which represented the vault of the heavens in which Christ the spiritual sun shone. See Germanos, *On the Liturgy*, 38.) The Paris manuscript only calls for four breads, not five. However, there is some confusion of whether the *Diataxis* itself called for four or five. It is not clear whether the living and the departed were to be commemorated from separate breads, in which case five would be used, or from the same loaf which would mean only four.⁴⁵

In answering some questions, the *Diataxis* of Philotheos raised others.

The Diataxis in Russia

At the end of the fourteenth and the first part of the fifteenth centuries, nascent Great Russian culture experienced a strong wave of Byzantine influence. Ample evidence of this is provided by the iconography of Theophanes the Greek and his disciples. During this period, translations of Orthodox spiritual and ascetical works from Mount Athos and Bulgaria, as well as the Hesychast tradition which would fuel the Non-possessors," was introduced and strengthened. One of the leading individuals behind this activity was the Metropolitan of Kiev, Kiprian, who was appointed metropolitan by

⁴⁵See note in Kovaliv, p. 165. There is no critical edition of the *Diataxis* of Philotheos.

Patriarch Philotheos in 1375. However, for political reasons he was not in full possession of the Metropolitanate until 1378.⁴⁶

Kiprian was born in Trnovo, Bulgaria, which was enjoying a renewal of Byzantine contact in the fourteenth century. He was a monastic first in Constantinople and then on Mount Athos. A product of the Palamite tradition, he assumed the office of Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia at a difficult time politically, and was received in Moscow with some reluctance.

As a Palamite and appointee of Philotheos, Kiprian introduced the *Diataxis* into Russian church life before his death in 1406. The Studite tradition, and the "chanter's office" (if, in fact, the latter survived intact until this time — it was abandoned in Constantinople after 1204, although it survived in Thessalonike until at least 1430) was abandoned in favor of the Typikon of Saint Sabbas, as regulated by Philotheos.

The Sluzebnik of Kiprian prescribes the use of five prosphora (but, again, this can be understood as four if the same prosphora for the living and the dead is used, just as already noted with the *Diataxis*). The first prosphora is for the "Lamb," the second is for the particle for the Mother of God, the third for that of John the Baptist and all the Saints, and those for the living and the dead.⁴⁷

It does not seem that the introduction of the *Diataxis* into Russia, at least in terms of the Liturgy, was as successful as Kiprian had hoped. Other usages were frequently blended with it, although Kiprian's Sluzebnik would provide the basis for the later Russian *Liturgikons* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Political Developments of the Fifteenth Century

The political growth of the Muscovite state in the fourteenth century caused the grand princes to question, from

⁴⁶See J. Boojamra, p. 187 for details.

⁴⁷Kovaliv, p. 164.

time to time, the role of the Byzantine Emperor as the protector of the Church. The growing political self-awareness and the possibility of its independent existence caused Moscow to consider ecclesiastical independence from Constantinople. The beginning of this independence was the ill-fated Council of Florence of 1439. The Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, Isidore, attended this Council with the hesitant permission of the grand prince, Basil II, who warned the Metropolitan not to agree to any reunion with the Latins. Isidore not only signed the document of reunion, but was made a cardinal and papal legate. On his return to Moscow, Basil II refused his blessing, urged him to do penance, and finally allowed him to return to Rome. The actions of Isidore and the Byzantine delegation were condemned in Russia. Indeed, Isidore could not find support among the Russian Orthodox in the Catholic Lithuanian kingdom who were often neglected and unsympathetic to the Moscovite Church.

The departure of Isidore, who had been appointed originally by the Patriarch of Constantinople over the wishes of the grand prince, left the see of Kiev and All Russia vacant. Basil called a synod of bishops who elected his original candidate as metropolitan, Jonah of Rjazan. This was done without the blessing of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The final break with Constantinople came in 1459, when Jonah's position as Metropolitan of Kiev was challenged by the appearance in Lithuania of a disciple of Isidore named Gregory, who was recognized by the Polish-Lithuanian monarch as the Metropolitan of Kiev (which at this time was a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). In 1459, the Russian bishops met in synod to repudiate the claims of Gregory as Metropolitan of Kiev, despite his boast of consecration at the hand of Gregory Mammas, Patriarch of Constantinople (1443-1450). The Russian synod declared Jonah and his successors to be the lawful Metropolitans of Kiev and All Russia.

This action established the independence of the Russian Church from Constantinople. The Orthodox bishops in Lithuania remained faithful to Gregory; and from that time until

the end of the seventeenth century, western and southern Russia (Little Russia) remained under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and independent of the Church of Moscow. Johah's successor dropped the title, "Metropolitan of Kiev" and referred to himself as the "Metropolitan of Moscow."

Russian ecclesiastical independence paralleled its political self-awareness as the "Third Rome." As such, it viewed the end of "New Rome" as God's punishment for the apostasy of Florence. While the rulers and theologians of "Third Rome" viewed themselves as the heirs of the Byzantine Empire, their inheritance often consisted of the trappings and not the "ecumenical" vision of the Byzantines, as is illustrated by the conflict between the "Possessors" and "Non-Possessors." Intoxicated with the eschatological mission of "Third Rome," Russian churchmen began to look with disdain upon their Greek counterparts. "Our faith is Christian, not Greek," quipped Ivan the Terrible.⁴⁸

The Russian Rite of Proskomide in the Sixteenth Century

In its attempt to systematize Russian cultural and ecclesiastical life, the Council of the "Hundred Chapters," known as the "Stoglav," of 1551, completely broke with the Byzantine pattern and replaced it with a Russian one. Even the Byzantine mystical and ascetical tradition was ignored and no attention was given, as in the time of Kiprian, to the "Greek example."⁴⁹

The Stoglav sets out the "model" for the rite of Proskomide in the "Prilozenija" by noting that after the "Lamb" has been cut, a particle is cut out in honor of the Mother of God from a second prosphora. This is placed at the right side of the "Lamb." From a third prosphora a particle is removed to commemorate Saint John the Baptist and

⁴⁸Georges Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology: Part One*, trans. Robert L. Nichols (Belmont, 1979), p. 31.

⁴⁹*Ibid.* p. 27.

this is placed at the left side of the "Lamb." The document then instructs: "From the other prosphora are removed (particles) for the Orthodox episcopacy, for the Tsar, for the princes, for all Christians and for the dead. These are placed in the middle beneath the Lamb."⁵⁰

The reason that the *Stoglav* does not denote a fixed number of prosphora is quite possibly the tremendous amount of variety extant in the *Sluzebniks* of Russia at the time.

The later Pre-Niconian printed editions of the *Sluzebnik*, such as that by Patriarch Joseph of 1651, settled on seven prosphora for the rite of *Proskomide*: one for the "Lamb," one for the Mother of God on the right of the "Lamb," one particle for all the saints, beginning with the angels and containing the usual categories (other editions begin with John the Baptist and omit the angels), on the left of the "Lamb;" then one for the bishops, the Tsar, the living and the dead, respectively. These are arranged beneath the "Lamb."⁵¹

The Proskomide Commemorations in the Greek Church of the Sixteenth Century

By the sixteenth century, printed editions of both Greek and Slavonic *Liturgikons* began to appear. For political reasons, these were most often printed in Venice and then circulated in the East. Although variations do occur, they contain what is essentially the modern rite of *Proskomide*; the commemorations may begin with the "Holy Cross," but it is more common to see "Michael and Gabriel and all the bodiless powers of heaven," the usual categories of saints (though the names may differ slightly depending, one must suppose, on the piety of the editors) and ending with a commemoration of Saint John Chrysostom or Saint Basil, if his Liturgy is being celebrated.

⁵⁰*Stoglav* (St. Petersburg, 1863), p. 289.

⁵¹Thanks to Fr. Theodore Jurewicz, Ass't. Pastor of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Nativity of Christ (Old Rite) of Erie, PA, for this information.

The particles are arranged in the modern order and five proskomidas are envisioned. The commemorations for the living and the dead are given formulas.⁵² Generally, with the advent of printing, the Proskomide rite in the Greek Church became "codified" and this codification represented a use that was fully developed, although slight variations can be found.

A Comparison of the Russian and Greek Commemorations of the Sixteenth Century

The Russian commemorations presented in the "Stoglav" and in the Pre-Nikonian Sluzhebnyks (and that is still used today by the "Old Ritualists") are simply a variation of the Russian Rite of the fifteenth century that has its origin with Metropolitan Kiprian. In rejecting "the Greek" example, the compilers of the "Stoglav" were forced to simply repeat the older form of commemorations. Meanwhile, despite the disaster of 1453, the form of Proskomide continued to develop and expand in the Greek Church.⁵³

The Slavonic Ritual in Kiev and "Little Russia"

From the end of the fifteenth century until the redivision of the Polish Kingdom in 1686, Kiev and the area known today as the Ukraine were divorced from the Church of Moscow and were under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. One would expect that this area would reflect the Greek usages exclusively up to and including the seventeenth century. In fact, there is a mixture of contemporary Greek and some practices antedating those recorded in the "Stoglav."

Certainly the most famous of the printed Sluzhebnyks of this time is the 1629 edition of Peter Mohila of Kiev. It is usually assumed that this is a product of Mohila's "Latinization," but the case for this is overstated. The diagram for

⁵²See the Venice edition of 1600.

⁵³Dmitrievsky, 2, pp. 817, 954.

the arrangement of the particles is given here:



This arrangement reflects the original rubric of the *Diataxis* grouping the particle for the Mother of God and that of the saints all on the same side of the "Lamb." At the same time, unlike the "Stoglav" or "Old Ritual" practice, the usual nine "orders" of saints are commemorated.

The commemoration begins with the "bodiless powers of heaven" and ends with the commemoration of Joachim and Anna instead of the author of the Liturgy. The seventh commemoration is for the "fools for Christ's sake" (Simon and Andrew are mentioned specifically). Mention is also made of the early Russian saints and the early saints of the Monastery of the Caves.

There is a note in the commemorations that only Orthodox bishops are to be commemorated. Six prosphora are called for: the sixth is for the priest-celebrant.

In his notes on the prayers for Vespers and Matins, Mohila reveals that he is aware of the differences between the Kievan Slavonic recensions and the Greek books.⁵⁴ He apparently chose to be faithful to the former. This is not surprising, for despite the fact that he was the Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Mohila sought to reorganize the Church of Kiev and Little Russia, one of the most backward and decadent Orthodox churches of the time, according to his own vision of Orthodoxy which was heavily influenced by Western forms. In addition to this, Cyril Lukaris, the Patriarch of Constantinople for the first five years of Mohila's tenure as Metropolitan of Kiev (from 1633-1638), had definite Calvinist leanings. Cyril was well known in Little Russia as being against the "Uniate" Church created by the 1596 Union of Brest Litovsk. He was the Ecumenical Patriarch's representative to the Orthodox Council of Brest Litovsk. However, during the years he spent in Lvov, he was known to have Protestant contacts and to have acquired an interest in Protestant theology. Although loyal to the Patriarchate, Mohila and his followers were suspicious of the "Orthodoxy" of the Patriarch and were little impressed with the "Greek example" of their time.

Political Developments in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Russia

By the 1560s the Russian church was demanding that its metropolitan be raised to patriarchal dignity. However, serious negotiations did not begin until 1587. They were assisted by a declaration from the new Tsar, Feodor, denying the implication given by the Council of 1551 that the Russian Church was more Orthodox than the Greek Church. If there was to be a Patriarch in Moscow, it would not be without the blessing of Constantinople.

⁵⁴A. Raes, S.J., *Le Liturgicon ruthene depuis l'Union de Brest*, O.C.P., number 8 (Rome, 1942), p. 95.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, was a learned and realistic diplomat. The tremendous attraction of Western Catholic and Protestant culture, the political pressures being brought to bear on the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the possible creation of a strong "Uniate" Church among the Orthodox of the Polish Kingdom revealed the need for the Orthodox Church to have a strong monarch overseeing its interests. The Russian Tsar was the only possible choice.

Jeremiah came to "Little Russia" (then in the Polish kingdom) on an alms gathering mission in 1588. He was invited to Moscow and in 1589 elevated Metropolitan Job of Moscow to the rank of Patriarch. Moscow was added behind the traditional four Patriarchates. Jeremiah, in an address given at the affair, recognized the political claim of Moscow to be "Third Rome" and the Tsar to be the heir of the Byzantine Emperor (and as such, the universal protector of all Orthodox Christians). Tactfully, he still proclaimed ecclesiastically the primacy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the Russian Church was again open to the influence of the Greek Church. Eastern Patriarchs often visited Russia in search of alms and were critical of the worship that they found there which was divergent from their own contemporary practices. In addition, scholars from Kiev were imported into Russia and were engaged in the correcting and reprinting of church books. Peter Mohila sought to establish, in Moscow, a house for Kievan monks who would teach Greek and Slavonic.

The contacts of the Tsarist court with the Kiev of Peter Mohila and the influence of visiting Greek churchmen in Moscow created a desire, among the influential members of the Russian court and hierarchy, to remodel the Russian Church after the example of the Greek and Kievan churches.

The election of Nikon Minin as Patriarch of Moscow ensured that the reform of the Russian Church would be carried out. At the start of his reforming activities, Nikon submitted a long list of questions about ritual to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The learned Meletios Syrigos replied on behalf

of the Patriarchate: "One should not conclude that our Orthodox faith is being perverted if some possess a church ceremony which differs slightly in inessentials but not in the articles of faith, if on the central and essential matter conformity is observed."⁵⁵ It was Makarios, the Patriarch of Alexandria, and a handful of other Greeks, who convinced Nikon of the error of the "Russian ways" and not the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Nikon "corrected" the Russian books on the basis of a Venetian printed Greek "Euchologion" of the early seventeenth century, thinking that whatever was "Greek" was more ancient and original. There was also some influence from the editions of Mohila's "Euchologion" printed in Kiev. The old rites of the Russian Church were declared to be false and heretical.

The "reforms" of Nikon were not accomplished by any scholarly criticism of sources, but out of a dilletantish affection for the solemnity of the Greek ritual. The Byzantine theological tradition remained foreign to him.

At the 1667 Council of the Russian Church, the fourteen Greek bishops present acted as judges of every aspect of the Russian liturgical life, from making the sign of the Cross, to outlining the stamp to be used on the "prospora" of the liturgy, to how many times "Alleluia" was to be sung. The reforms of Nikon were confirmed; those who clung to the old ways, the "Old Believers," were anathematized.

The rite of Nikon has essentially remained in use in the Russian Church to this day. The Proskomide commemorations were brought into line with those of the Greek Church of the seventeenth century, except that they begin the commemoration of the saints with John the Baptist and not the angels, common in Russian books, but not unknown in the Greek tradition. Popular Russian saints, as per Mohila, were included along with those in the Greek books.

In 1686 the city of Kiev, and much of "Little Russia"

⁵⁵Florovsky, p. 94.

(except for Galicia and Carpatho-Russia), passed into Russian control again. The Metropolitan of Kiev was no longer under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but under that of Moscow. The printing of the Mohila Sluzebnik and other books was discontinued and the Nikonian books of Moscow were printed and introduced into Kiev and the Ukraine.

The editions of Mohila, reprinted many times after his death in 1646 by the Orthodox "brotherhoods" of Lvov and other Russian cities of the Polish kingdom, remained popular among the dwindling Orthodox population there and became the basis of the first "Uniate" service books. The unique arrangement of the particles on the diskos presented earlier, though printed as late as 1691 in Lvov, eventually fell into disuse and the Greek Nikonian pattern was standardized to replace it.⁵⁶

The Prayer of the Third Hour at the Epiklesis

One of the most visible differences between the Greek and Russian service books today is the "Troparion of the Third Hour" recited in the Russian Church in the middle of the Epiklesis:

O Lord, Who sent down Your most Holy Spirit upon Your Apostles at the Third Hour; do not take Him from us now, but renew Him in us who pray to You.

This is recited three times with a verse from Psalm 50 (LXX) between each recitation. The Troparion is found in the Office of the Third Hour for Great Lent.

There can be no doubt that this Troparion is an interpolation into the text of the Liturgy. It is addressed not to the Father, but to Christ, unlike the rest of the prayer of the anaphora. There are differences of opinion as to when and how this Troparion came to be interpolated into the Liturgy.

⁵⁶The usual order is printed in the 1637 Sluzebnik of Lvov, printed by the Stauropegion Brotherhood.

In the sixteenth century the prayer is common in Greek and Russian copies of the Divine Liturgy.⁵⁷ Although some liturgiologists believe that it can be traced to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, none of the manuscripts, Greek or Slavonic, cited in this paper and dating before the 16th century have this Troparion in the Epiklesis. The 1526 edition of the Greek "Euchologion," printed by Demetrios Dukas, includes the Troparion.⁵⁸ The 1651 "Pre-Nikonian" Slavonic edition of the Sluzebnik of Patriarch Joseph also contains it.⁵⁹ It did not appear in the Sluzebnik of Kiprian, however.⁶⁰

The 1639 edition of the Sluzebnik of Peter Mohila put the Troparion in parentheses. It was retained in the reforms of Nikon because it was in use in the Greek Church in the seventeenth century.

In the nineteenth century there began to be a strong reaction to the interpolation of the Troparion in the Liturgy, perhaps beginning with Saint Nikodemos of Mount Athos.⁶¹ By the middle of the century, the Troparion of the Third Hour was frequently omitted from Greek "Euchologions" (often with an explanation in the footnote).⁶² The 1895 edition published by the Ecumenical Patriarchate also omitted it; and it is absent from the Greek editions of the Liturgy to this day. The Russian Church, however, has retained it because of the reforms of Nikon which "canonized" seventeenth-century Greek Liturgy.

Conclusions

The Proskomide commemorations, because they were in a

⁵⁷Meletius Michael Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy* (Washington, D. C., 1970), p. 285.

⁵⁸Swainson, p. 130.

⁵⁹See note 51.

⁶⁰Kovaliv, p. 169.

⁶¹Agaprios and Nikodemos of Mt. Athos, *The Rudder*, p. 561.

⁶²For example, see the 1862 edition printed in Venice.

state of development from the time of the conversion of Vladimir until the sixteenth century or so, provide us with a means of measuring the influence of the Constantinopolitan and the Greek tradition on the liturgical life of the Russian Church in its formative years.

In many ways, this paper may raise more questions than it answers. For example, the influence of Bulgarian Slavonic practices in the years before the fifteenth century has not been addressed. Many other elements in the Liturgy that show a development parallel to that of the Proskomide commemorations, such as the vesting, the Great Entrance rite, and the post-communion ritual, have not been taken into account. However, examination of these elements would probably not lead to any different conclusions than examining the commemorations alone.

From the small amount of evidence presented, though, it is possible to broadly draw the following conclusions: first, there is a close connection between Liturgy and culture. When the Russian Church existed as a part of a culture that disregarded the Byzantine Church, its Liturgy retained and canonized forms that were reflections of its past Byzantine connections. The isolated and ingrown culture of sixteenth-century Moscovy could neither develop the old forms of Liturgy nor provide new forms. The "Old Believer" schism of the time of the reforms of Nikon occurred because the Old Believers' traditional Russian culture could not accept a Liturgy that, in their view, had no connection with their culture.

Secondly, there is very little in Russian liturgical tradition that at one time or another was not Greek liturgical tradition. The worship of the Russian Church is largely a mosaic made up of the liturgical life of the Church of Constantinople at different stages of its existence, harmonized and blended into an intense expression of the Russian soul and culture.

Thirdly, in discussing "liturgical legacies" it is necessary to keep a proper perspective on the issue. A pastor of my acquaintance was once asked by an eager convert to the

Orthodox faith, “Who has the purest rite, Constantinople or Moscow?” He replied, “Whoever celebrates their rite with the purest heart.”

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Reviews

The Life of St. Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices. By Jan Olof Rosenquist. Uppsala (Sweden): Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986. Pp. 175. Paper.

Uppsala University is the center of Swedish scholarly life. Its numerous contributions to the richness of theological life in particular, are well known in Europe and in America. And, indeed, work in classical Greek and Byzantine areas of study has been a part of these contributions. The present volume, however, represents the first in a series of books to be dedicated by the university press to Byzantine studies as such. It inaugurates the *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*.

Saint Irene Chrysobalantou (as she is more commonly known to Greek readers) is not a saint much known in the West. I am surprised, therefore, to see Uppsala University's Byzantine series — which will concentrate, though not exclusively, on hagiography — begin with such a figure. While I was teaching at the Theological Institute at Uppsala University in the autumn of 1987, I tried to find a reason for this oddity, having inquired of several doctoral students who were involved in the seminar where the study of Saint Irene was critically analyzed. Their partial answers, combined with my own intuition, prompt me to make some comments about this new series in hagiography that can perhaps act as a guide to Orthodox scholars and the faithful alike. But first a few specific comments about this volume.

The actual translation of the text, in Greek-English

parallel, is excellent. I have compared the Greek and English with some care, and only several errors of an important kind are to be found — and these resulting not from an improper knowledge of the Greek, but from a lack of facility in translating Greek idioms into a corresponding English idiom. Certainly we are free here from the ugliness of “Honorable Wood” for “The Holy Cross,” but a certain literalism dominates in the translation that makes the English a bit difficult. For example, “μέτριον τοῦ φρονήματος,” in describing in one place the psychological character of the saint, is somewhat lost in the English, “modesty of her mind” (p. 25). Not only is the Greek idiom lost, but the resulting English expression is, again, a bit clumsy. Among other such examples to be noted, let us look at the following phrase (p. 88) in which Saint Irene is praised for “τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν αὐτῆς ἐγγύτητος καὶ παρρησίας.” This simple phrase is translated: [for] “her proximity to God and her freedom of speech before Him” (p. 89). The translator obviously understands the phrase, but a far better translation would have been this straightforward rendering: “her nearness to and boldness before God.” Not to belabor the point, the problem here is with English usage — something which is more understandable when we realize that the author of this book is a Swede translating from Greek into English.

The addenda to this book are remarkable. They contain portions (in Greek) of the service to the Saint, compiled from two manuscripts. There are both Greek and general (English) indices, each complete and thorough. Biblical and patristic quotations are carefully indexed, and a helpful grammatical glossary fills out what are meticulously prepared scholarly apparatuses found in few modern works.

A detailed study of the manuscript tradition for the life of Saint Irene and a very useful introduction also enhance this book. Drawing from Athonite and other sources, the author provides us with commentary, vis-à-vis the manuscript tradition, that would be the envy of any scholar. Indeed, the author includes in his consideration detailed lists of various errors found in the texts of the different manuscripts. And,

if his introduction also contains a few uncomfortable English phrases, the author certainly prefaces his translation of the life of Saint Irene with insightful and considered comments about Byzantine life, society, and literature — though I am personally hesitant to accept all of his observations without some reservations.

Now, with regard to my curiosity as to why the Uppsala Byzantine series should begin with the life of a saint so obscure as that of Saint Irene Chrysobalantou, let me make a few remarks. The several students with whom I spoke in Uppsala emphasized to me the fact that the life of Saint Irene is filled with all of those wonderful props of the fantastic: sorcerers, magic, and the supernatural. The characters are epic, if not fairy-like. To these students, the life characterizes all that one would expect from the mysterious Byzantines. I have no doubt that these students are correct in attributing the choice of this particular hagiographical work to a certain supposition about Byzantine spirituality. In fact, I am convinced that many scholars have renewed their interest in Byzantine spiritual literature precisely because it is so mysterious, supernatural, and idiomorphic. We have moved from a scholarly attitude toward Byzantine hagiographical texts that relegates them to a realm of “no historical significance” to an arena where their quaint, “superstitious” content offers “easy pickings” for the enlightened modern scholar. And it is precisely along these lines that I would like to offer the Orthodox reader a few reasons for careful reflection on studies like the present.

Needless to say, like the authors of a book making similar claims about Saint Nicholas, Mr. Rosenquist dismisses the life of Saint Irene as a mere composite of legends borrowed from other Byzantine writings — a life drawn from prevailing legends that can be found in several tenth-century narratives. While I am not impressed by the historical evidence either in this book or in the earlier book about Saint Nicholas (which I also reviewed in the pages of this journal), it is not my purpose to argue history. I would like to address myself to a matter of historiography.

Very few of us remember when icons were dismissed as “the primitive sketches of illiterate monks who, having fallen victim to the uncreative and ghastly deadliness of Byzantine society, lost all concept of classical beauty, symmetry, and perspective,” if I can with any accuracy recall one of my undergraduate lecturers a number of decades ago. We have forgotten the prejudices against Byzantine art because we now see it touted as a mystical art, as abstract art in its fullest form, as a highly developed form of symbolic art. And how did this change come about? Not by a transformation of iconography, but by a change in historiography. Scholars began to see that their naive, superficial view of iconography was insufficient to account for its endurance and for its role in the cultural development of societies that, once treated with objectivity and fairness, emerge as great centers of human progress. What happened to icons has not happened to Byzantine hagiography — yet!

Byzantine painting attempts to capture spiritual principles by using artistic devices: inverted perspective, symbol, and even a control of affect by color and configuration. Though personal attributes of an individual are preserved, they are not primary. Icons do not attempt to preserve personal history. The person is always subsumed by a spiritual principle. Thus, an ascetic, whether he looked ascetic or not in his real life, is presented as a thin, hairy, otherworldly figure. A martyr is portrayed with a cross, usually expressing something of a beatific nature in his face. A confessor is presented with a stern visage, representing his resolute faith. By the same token, Byzantine hagiography attempts to capture spiritual characters in a larger sense, so as to symbolize the holy attributes of their lives, rising above the personal and the historical. Thus, we find that those distinguished for fasting are often characterized by abstinence from the mother’s breast at a young age. Those preserved throughout life in virginity are presented as having enjoyed a special favor from God throughout their lives, even before their spiritual course may have been fixed. Exemplars of repentance and personal transformation often have the same sins and excesses

in their backgrounds. Indeed, a commonality of experience ranks the different kinds of saints together, so that the dominant instructive characteristic of each rank is highlighted, whether the holy person be an ascetic, martyr, or confessor, for example.

To look to an icon for that which one can find alone in a photograph is like trying to make hagiographical accounts historical. It well may be that all martyrs, for reasons unknown to us, share certain characteristics in their lives. And the same for ascetics. We cannot discount this and, because of the similarity of various holy persons' lives, dismiss these lives as variations on the same legend. This is not good science. And even if it were, it would have no consequences for hagiography, since hagiographic symbols and contrivances aim at evoking spiritual sensations and at uncovering the timeless, spiritual elements that underlie a person's passage through the world of time and space and history. Historians who dismiss the authenticity of certain lives simply because two or three or more lives are very similar, simply miss the point of hagiography. One day, they will seem as comical as the art historian who sees in iconography the primitive scratchings of illiterates.

When I was first ordained a priest, a former colleague, a professor in the natural sciences, attended a service for the Blessing of Waters that I performed. Afterwards, with some embarrassment, he noted how uncomfortable he was in the service, since he had always related to me as a hard-nosed empiricist who used logic to approach all matters. I explained to him that logic is useful only in context. I can logically understand and analyze that which I experience. Without experience, things that I can only see through the jaundiced eyes of disbelief or doubt are illogical — indeed, superstitious. When I have experienced something, then it has its own contextual logic. I can understand it from within. So it is with all things spiritual, and so it is with hagiography. Unless one knows something of spiritual life, has met Orthodox holy people, and understands the nature of the saint, all that is contained in the lives of the saints will seem superstitious. And

this “superstitious” material, when unfairly placed under the microscope of modern historical scrutiny, becomes a treasure chest for critics. There is nothing so easy as boating through water. It parts and is conquered, only once again to come together in one whole, as the naive and confident oarsman continues unwittingly on his “triumphant” way. The water of Byzantine historiography is similarly parted by the oars of the modern historian.

If it can be demonstrated that the lives of the Byzantine saints are simply legends and fairy tales, then what a faith it is that we Orthodox practice. Superstitious and ignorant, we emulate what never was and never will be. Our Fathers were simply liars, having told us of their visions of these Holy Ones, when, in fact, they were simply presenting before us false images and imagined persons. Miracles have never taken place. The intercessions of saints — like Saint Irene Chryso-balantou, to whom have been attributed countless miracles over the centuries — are meaningless, rooted in wishful thinking and superstition. And we Orthodox, too, are liars, misrepresenting ourselves as faithful followers of what we have seen and of that to which we have borne witness. We perpetuate lies that historians can easily dismiss. Our Faith is less compelling than one based on the adventures of Alice in Wonderland, since at least her imagined adventures were endowed with the creative uniqueness of their author.

Indeed, for the Orthodox Christian, the question is always before us: Do we sacrifice the reality of spiritual experience for the speculation of unbelieving scholarship? This is a pivotal question. Unless belief is real and unless we understand our Faith in terms of experience, the foregoing affirmations are all too true. The historical Jesus, the historical Nicholas, the historical Irene — all of these rest in the hands of those who do not believe. Christ is not alive because he existed historically. Christ is alive because he exists spiritually and can be experienced. And this spiritual existence dominates over history, swallowing it up, encompassing it, and transforming it. Saint Irene exists because she comes to us through spiritual experience, recounted in her life in a

special way, but separated from the concerns, views, and preoccupations of the historian. Once we come to see hagiography and spiritual writing in this way, then we can see the superficiality of an historical series that would transform A into Z, study it according to the qualities and characteristics of Z, and then dismiss A as though it were nothing. The authenticity of belief in Saint Irene is as far away from historical analysis as A is from Z. For the Orthodox reader, then, there is little to gain in critical studies of hagiography, save the experience of seeing how much good work and careful scholarship can underpin insufficient thinking.

Bishop Chrysostomos

Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

Πάσχα Κυρίου. Δημιουργία-ἀναχαίνις καὶ ἀποστασία [*The Passover of the Lord: Creation-Redemption and Apostasy*]. By A. D. Delembases. Athens: n.p., 1985. Pp. 913. Paper.

Trained in theology at the University of Athens, an active educator (the author is a gymnasiarch, or superintendent, of a secondary school), and one of the chief apologists for the moderate members of the Old Calendar movement in the Church of Greece, Mr. Delembases is both an indefatigable writer and a man remarkably well-versed in patristic literature. The present book, a monumental work with no less than 6,243 footnotes and 817 separate textual notes(!), attests to the author's meticulous attention to his topic and to his extensive reading in the Fathers, this reading being abundantly obvious in his cogent exposition and synthetic integration of patristic texts. This book represents classical Orthodox scholarship at its best — reflective theology as it should be. Everywhere, the patristic and scriptural witnesses are brought to bear on a particular assumption, the elucidation of that assumption taking the form of a development further complemented by patristic citations and, to be sure,

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Interreligious dialogue, a theological account of religious pluralism, and Christian articulation of its historical-cultural, mystical, and ethico-political affirmations for the modern world is an urgent task for all who would claim continuity with the apostolic Faith. This volume is a very important and readable contribution to this gospel call. It is hoped that it will evoke a wider readership, and creative responses from a variety of traditions.

Brother Jeffrey Gros, FSC
National Council of Churches of Christ, USA

The Monastic Life. By Metropolitan Cyprian. Translated by Bishop Chrysostomos. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1988. Pp. 55. \$5.00, paper.

The author of this spiritually insightful book is the famed abbot of the Holy Monastery of Saints Cyprian and Justina in Fili, Greece.

This brief volume brings to focus contemporary Western Christianity's misunderstanding of the purpose and direction of the Orthodox monastic life. Unfortunately, this Western misconception has even spread into certain segments of the Orthodox Church, owing to the recent influence of alien Western theologies on our theological thinkers and the influx into the Orthodox Church of converts with little familiarity with the monastic traditions of the East.

The stark contrast between the Orthodox monastic's pursuit of *theosis* (divinization) and the Western world's attempt to identify the individual (to include the monk) as the sum of his social interactions, to value him in terms of his social contribution to the material welfare of society, is demonstrated in this book through a conversation between a young

theologian and a monk. The conversation between these two individuals is both instructive and spiritually moving to the reader, and is reminiscent of the dialogue between the Elder Zossima and his young disciple in Dostoyevsky's *Brother Karamazov*. It is evident that the visiting theologian has been schooled in the social activist tradition of modern Western theology; but he is, sadly, not even conscious of how his orientation has severely biased his basic understanding of Christian purpose. Indeed, even his conceptualization of corporal works of mercy (i.e., charity) is a myopic view subtly held captive to an underlying materialistic mindset. The polite discourse between the theologian and monk also addresses such issues as the value of asceticism in the modern age, grace versus works, and the meaning of the solitary life. The monk's responses also hint of another source of knowledge (not unattainable to the theologian through his academic pursuits), a mystic knowledge won only by prayer and spiritual struggle.

Bishop Chrysostomos deserves our thanks for introducing the English-speaking world to the writings of Metropolitan Cyprian. The translation flows smoothly without the occurrences of awkward or vague transliterations that often plague such efforts. We can only hope that the translator will find time in his busy schedule to provide us with other such spiritually edifying works by the Metropolitan of Fili.

Thomas C. Brecht
Birmingham, Alabama

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one Orthodox Christian should miss this book.

I cannot adequately praise this woman for having written a classic. And I cannot adequately thank the Holy Cross Orthodox Press for having produced a book of this quality. If this book is necessary reading for every Orthodox Christian, it is a necessary remedial work for all those who foolishly question the sanctity of one of the great figures of the Orthodox faith and the whole Christian world.

Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

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Thomas C. Brecht
Birmingham, Alabama

Dialogues in a Monastery. By Constantine Tsatsos. Translated from the original Greek by Jean Demos. Preface by John Brademas. Brookline, MA.: Hellenic College Press, 1986. Pp. xii + 182. Cloth, \$15.95; paper, \$10.95.

Dialogues in a Monastery is not a new book. It was first published in Greek in Athens in 1974. A sixth Greek edition was published in 1983 and a French translation appeared in 1976 in Paris with the title *Dialogues au Monastère* under the auspices of the Société Les Belles Lettres. It is only appropriate that an English translation also circulate, since the late Constantine Tsatsos, who in 1975 became the first President of the Hellenic Republic, was one of Greece's most

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a concise statement of Benjamin's philosophy of education — set forth with the expertism, precision, and thoroughness typical of Cavarnos' scholarship — but a carefully selected compendium of passages from some of Benjamin's more important works.

I heartily recommend Dr. Cavarnos' little book to the scholar and general reader alike. It contains a wealth of information about a figure whose impact on our modern thinking is tragically limited. Books like this go a long way in expanding our thought and overcoming such limitations.

Bishop Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Studies

The Myth of Christian Uniqueness: Toward a Pluralistic Theology of Religion. By John Hick and Paul Knitter. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 1987. \$12.95.

During the entire history of Christianity, the Church has lived side by side with convinced believers of other religions. In Asia and since the rise of Islam, there have been intense relationships with communities of faith which have shown no inclination to accept the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In recent years, this situation has become more commonplace even in the West.

This volume of essays by Western Christian theologians is an attempt to address a theology which will give an equal place in God's plan to this reality of other religions in our pluralistic world. For this reason, it is a thoroughly christological treatment on soteriology even when the essays do not treat the biblical and patristic bases which could serve their arguments. In fact, it is amazing that the centuries of experience of churches who have lived intimately — if not often comfortably — with convinced believers of other religions are not drawn upon. There are rich patristic and medieval resources for theologies of Christianity vis-à-vis world religions that can serve well our common calling to dialogue and to fidelity to the apostolic Faith.

There are three sections of essays, all predicated on the fact that christocentric soteriology presents an obstacle to interreligious dialogue. The historical-cultural section is the most Western Enlightenment based of the three, with Kaufman grounding his position on historicism, Hick caught up in the arrogance of "superiority" questions in Christianity, and Gilkey working from a basis in relativism and pluralism. This section seems the least rooted in the universal Christian experience in time and space and the sources of revelation in Scripture and Tradition. It seems to place more weight on the culturally conditioned Western Enlightenment than on the living experience of the Church.

The section that rests its argumentation on the mystical seems much more appealing and promising in disclosing a linkage between Christianity and the other religions. One reason for this may be that theologians building on these resources are much more trinitarian and pneumatological in their approaches to God's action in creation and in the world's history. In this regard, the hard and narrow approach to Christology which necessitates affirming a particular soteriology or denying the uniqueness of the Incarnation is transcended in a more orthodox, and therefore more open, understanding of God's action in the world and the human spirit. While the formulations of Smith, Samartha, and Panikkar will undoubtedly raise some theological questions for many, they do point to exciting developments in the enrichment of Christian spirituality in interreligious dialogue.

The final section addresses ethics and justice. The struggle in the real, human world of practical life draws the world's great religions together and draws Christianity beyond its unique claims toward an active engagement with others in the world. Indeed, as motivation for a Christian spirituality in action and interreligious dialogue, this is an important methodological beginning and a goal of such dialogue. However, there is a tendency in these essays to take a reductive approach to the biblical and historical record, as well as not taking into account the truth claims that lie behind the soteriological and even the ethical affirmations of the Christian

faith. However, each of these essays, in their own way, challenges a Christian theology open to interreligious dialogue to find an articulation of the relationship of soteriology and ethics that is capable of speaking to the modern spirit and serving to motivate the interreligious dialogue.

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The Physiognomy of a Local Church

EMILIANOS TIMIADIS

A PRIORITY THEME PASSIONATELY DISCUSSED IN ECUMENICAL circles today is the topic of the relationship between the local and the universal Church. This theme preoccupied the Second Vatican Council. Ecclesiologically and culturally it feeds many debates in the Faith and Order Department of the World Council of Churches (WCC), especially in reference to the newly converted in the mission field — the so-called younger churches. The relationship of the local and universal church is directly connected with our subject: What was the new outlook of converted Slavonic Russia in conjunction to the wider Orthodox family? From the vast subject, one can deduce many specific topics: autonomy of the local church; particularly the ethos of monasticism; the dynamics of spiritual values in the history of Russia; the distinctiveness of Russian piety and liturgical life; national identity; the special relationship between church-state; respect for the spoken Slavonic language and its use in worship; and Slavonic mysticism in theological trends. This selective outline makes evident the wide range of factors constituting a local Orthodox church. Evangelism permeates and influences all areas of a converted society. Nothing remains untouched by the new faith in any given society.

The deep piety of Russia is a living example of the past and, perhaps, more so today of the family of God maintaining its proper elements and identity despite persecutions and systematic atheistic intoxication. Orthodoxy, indeed, respects

the aspirations and marks of each local church without forcing and imposing uniform directives.

Many attitudes have developed in regard to the proclaimed Gospel. Some ecclesiastical communities receiving the word of God assimilate it to their culture. They manifest a style of local Christian life bearing all the traits from the influence of the received faith. Yet, another attitude may be reserved and passive, taking only a part of the faith while remaining under the customs and traditions of the past.

The Rus, after being converted to the Orthodox faith by Constantinople, tailored their national culture to the new religion. Although deeply influenced by the spirituality, liturgical life, Byzantine art, and asceticism, they kept a distinctive characteristic of their temperament and Slavonic piety. Not wanting to be absorbed completely, they preferred to keep their cultural independence and esthetic autonomy as is seen today in Russian ecclesiastical music, iconography, and method of formulating deep piety. Incarnational faith penetrates deeply into the heart and mind of a given Christianized population, but at the same time establishes a dialectic between the transcultural aspect of Christ's universal Church and the local church which lives its history in a determined geographical space and time.

As a dynamic catalyst, eucharistic worship commemorates and actualizes the event of transhuman significance, of the "mysterium salutis," which transcends history and all human conditions. Orthodox unity, therefore, is not to be found in diverse "heterotes" of language or culture, but rather in the common faith and Eucharist, in the "praxis ecclesiae."

The pattern of oneness implanted in a given culture of the country receiving the Gospel is seen in the life of the post-apostolic communities. Neither apostles nor evangelists interfered in secondary problems such as language, local customs, or historical beliefs, thus exhibiting full respect for non-theological factors. Every baptized person was expected to incarnate his faith into his daily life, thereby, influencing his social setting. The Epistle to Diognetos best exemplifies

this symbiosis of culture-Christian identity.¹

Another characteristic example of symbiosis is the local church of Gaul, ancient Galia. The marks of religious life and liturgical rite was not Roman, but Oriental and Greek. The first bishop, Photinos (AD 130) originating from Asia Minor with his successor, the well-known Irenaios, transferred the spirit and the traditions to this newly established church. Lyons, thus, became Eastern in character. This Oriental influence is seen particularly in the tendency for independence in theological thinking, ecclesiastical administration, and discipline in the church of Gaul. It was more attracted to the theological thinking of Milan, than to that of Rome.²

In many parts of the West, the prestige of this see made impressive impact which continued for many centuries. But its growth was weakened by rivalry between the sees of Vienna and Arles and the discontent of Rome. It was here that the remarkable synodical system of episcopal regional councils developed which stood against Arianism in A.D. 355. During the second century, the authority of Rome's bishop was minimal in Gaul. But, by the fourth century, Rome had succeeded in eliminating the influence from Milan, and, finally, in spite of strong opposition from Gaul, Latin customs replaced those from the East.

Irenaios addresses unity among those with like faith, in spite of varying customs, culture, language, and national divisions.

As I have already observed, the Church, having received the preaching that this faith, although scattered throughout the world, yet, as if occupying one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points of doctrine just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and

¹Chapters 2-4.

²H. Leclercq: article *Gallicone* in *DAC*, vol. 6.

hands them down with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same.

For the Churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe nor hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul-France, nor those in the East, in Libya, and in the central portions of the world. But as the sun, the creation of God, is one and the same in all the world, so is the light of the preaching of the truth, which shines on all who desire to come to the knowledge of the truth.³

All members of the church exercise an influence on one another as each person makes his contribution to their oneness. It is important that the parishioner keep in mind how valuable each soul is in the eyes of God. A stone becomes far more valuable when it is added to the wall of the whole building, but the firmness of a building depends on the quality of the stone.

There was resistance to the wholesale Romanization and secularization of the Church. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, defended in vain the rights of the metropolitans to convoke provincial synods. He protested against appeals which bishops and priests directed to the papal curia, without reference to the local bishops. His work, *De jure Metropolitaram*, was his swansong on the decline of the episcopal synods, once a much respected organ in the administration of the early Church.

The centralization of church administration in Rome was accelerated by a significant falsification of the Middle Ages: the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (circa 852). Curiously, this document appeared in Rheims, and was directed against Archbishop Hincmar's defense for the right of the metropolitans. Among these false papers was a decree that a major synod

³ *Against Heresies* 1. 10, 1-2; PG 7.522-23.

could be assembled only with permission of the Holy See. This falsity spread rapidly in Gaul and Germany during the tenth century. The genesis of the sixteenth-century Reformation was due to many causes and abuses. The disappearance of the former synodical system, as well as that of the old ecclesiastical autonomy of a local church related with the regional episcopal synods, were contributing factors.

Biblical and patristic sources state that whoever receives the Holy Spirit becomes a "vessel" — *docheion tou Pneumatos*,⁴ which fills the shaped parts of the container vessel. Thus, each vessel differs from another, although all contain the same Spirit.

Explaining to the Catechumens the action of God's Spirit, Cyril of Jerusalem (tenth century) applies the image of rain. While all the earth receives the same gift of rain, the results vary. The one and same rain permeates the soil, and produces a variety of vegetal species with an astonishing number of colors, and parfum; thus, forming a polychromy in harmony. We see the same analogy in the ecclesiastical field. While maintaining the one faith, the local church, which is established by God's Spirit, manifests its fruits in varied forms and shapes through liturgical life, piety, religious art, sacred music, language, culture, religious customs, etc. This variety in oneness enables the Church to preserve her proper physiognomical identity and distinctiveness, for instance, the ancient apostolic churches with diverse language and dialects: Armenian, Syrian, Greek, Aramaic, Coptic, Ethiopian, etc. Oneness of faith with emphasis on particular personal characteristics is also the case of the Orthodox Church in Russia after her conversion in 988 during Vladimir's reign.

In 988 the decision was made by Vladimir to transform the formerly pagan kaganate into a Christian nation as a member of the Byzantine Commonwealth. Happy to be admitted as associates-*proxenoi* of the *basileus* of Constantinople, the Russian rulers relinquished their title of Kazar origin and

⁴Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 3,2.

accepted the universal ideology of Byzantium. A type of symphonia developed in Russia. On the one hand, this meant the fragmentation of political power, and on the other, centralization based on the ad hoc concept of the indivisibility of the metropolis of Russia depending on the Ecumenical Patriarchate.⁵

In 1204, while the converted Russian church was consolidating the new faith, the unthinkable happened: the Byzantine state collapsed during the Crusades. With a Latin Frankish ruler in Constantinople, Hagia Sophia became the see of a Latin patriarch. The story of this event is preserved in the Novgorod I Chronicle. The Russian princes responded by establishing the new center for the church in Novgorod. By the fourteenth century, the jurisdiction of the Russian Church was growing.⁶

The Russian soul was interested in spiritual and practical issues. Doctrinal conflicts did not occupy their minds. Thus, we understand their preference for John Chrysostom and Ephraim the Syrian. More than 200 sermons of Chrysostom were translated in pre-Mongolian Russia. Common to both of these Fathers is their practical, moral purpose combined with high impressive eloquence. Both were captivating the Russian heart as teachers of agape, caritative love — especially the social aspect — and defenders of the poor. In spite of their moral severity, they represented the bright side of Christianity: the joy and hope of Christ's victory over death. The vast number of translations and editions show that Russians, through a thousand years, have never abandoned these two teachers and leaders. Russian legend tells about two celestial birds singing in Paradise — Sirin and Alconost, the bird of joy and that of sorrow. They could well be an emblem of the two poet-preachers: Chrysostom and Ephraim.

⁵Ludolf Muller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionalen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039* (Cologne, 1957).

⁶*Acta Patriarchatus* 1, 183.425, p. 426.

Although Russia acquired the faith from Greek sources, she resisted the infiltration of the Greek language and preserved her own identity. Only a few were speaking Greek, such as Prince Vsevolod, who married a Byzantine princess. His son, Vladimir, was surnamed with the Greek derivative Monomach (Monomachos). We never find traces of Greek in the Russian manuscripts of the chronicles or lives of the saints.

National Identity

The authors of the eleventh century, inspired by the Slavic tradition of Cyril and Methodios, created a doctrine of national calling. This idea has its origin within the Orthodox family with a plurality in unity — one faith, but many languages and cultures. The Jewish belief that every nation has its celestial patron in the person of an angel (Daniel 10) was familiar to the Russians, especially through the intermediary of Epiphanius of Salamis-Cyprus. Thus, Hilarion of Kiev pronounced: "The Roman country praises with laudatory words Peter and Paul by whom she was led to believe in Jesus Christ, the son of God; Asia-Ephesus and Patmos, John the Evangelist; India, Thomas the Apostle; Egypt, Mark the Evangelist. All countries, cities, and nations venerate and glorify their own teacher who taught them the Orthodox faith." We must not forget that Russia had to defend its own identity — national and cultural. However, patriotism should not be identified with excessive chauvinism or supremacy over other nations and races. Russia, as a nation, was born out of the mixture of Slavic and non-Slavic tribes simultaneously with her conversion. The nomadic ethnic groups and different religions constituted one homogenous entity, as belonging to the same fatherland. Nestor, in his "Lection of Saint Boris and Gleb," applies the limits of national identity between the healthy nations of the world, in the great family of God. Under the rule of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the young nation was able to develop a deep and sincere national consciousness which remained quite free from venomous nationalism.

Often patriarchs, or other ecclesiastical dignitaries, addressed paternal instructions to the rulers. Full of wisdom for the benefit of the whole country, these instructions were helpful in the administrative task of delicate issues. One example is the encomiastic speech of Synesios, bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt, to the emperor Arkadios. The bishop was ambassador to the imperial court at Constantinople (399). His excellent exposition of duties, "De Regno," was inspired by ancient pieces from Plato's *Republic*, from the Greek Xenophon. With astonishing courage, Synesios distinguishes the ruling task of a true king from a dictator or tyrant: "For a true king, the model of his government, is the law, while for a tyrant, his own manners are imposed as forced law. Βασιλέως μὲν ἐστὶ τρόπος ὁ νόμος, τυράννου δὲ ὁ τρόπος, νόμος. Therefore, is not the multitude of subjects which makes a king, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπηκόων ποιεῖ τὸν βασιλέα."⁷

Later, we find similarly important writings in the treatises of Anna Komnene and Constantine Porphyrogenetos. Noteworthy is the famous letter which Patriarch Photios of Constantinople sent to the king of Bulgaria Boris about 866. He gave advice for the duties of a Christian prince: "the most, illustrious, reknowned, beloved, and spiritual son Michael, the God-sent archon of Bulgaria."⁸

Inspired by the courageous attitude of previous Church Fathers, monks often stood against wicked rulers. A model for them was Saint Ambrose of Milan's refusal to allow Emperor Theodosios to enter the Church.⁹

One thousand years ago through Byzantine missionaries, and the Great Prince Vladimir of Kiev, the gospel of Christ and the Orthodox faith entered deeply into the texture of the history, language, and culture of the Slavs. Permeating

⁷*Oratio de Regno* 6, 66, 1064.

⁸Letter 7 in D. White, *Patriarch Photios* (Brookline, 1981).

⁹Theodoret, *Church History* 5, 17, pp. 82, 1236; Sozomen, *Church History* 7, 25, pp. 67, 1496; Nikephoros Kallistos, *Church History* 12, 14, pp. 146, 896.

the heart of the Russian people, the Gospel challenged and transformed culture and society. In the twentieth century, Christians in the Soviet Union survived what was perhaps the most terrible and long-lasting persecution of Orthodox Christians in history. And today, in spite of the persecutions, the Orthodox Church of Russia is a living and powerful witness to the gospel of Christ, as well as a great force for evangelization and mission. Orthodoxy has the secret to transform human lives and human history while preserving the faith from atheistic assaults.

The personal virtues and piety of the two founders, Olga and Vladimir, offered significant influence in determining the shape of the nation. While on a visit to Constantinople in 957, Yaroslav's great-grandmother, Princess Olga, was the first of the Russian royalty to be baptized. Just as her courageous act had filled Yaroslav with pride, so her regal person captivated all the persons. Her qualities caused Nestor to rhapsodize: "Olga was the precursor of the Christian land, even as the day-spring precedes the sun and as the dawn precedes the day. For she shone like the moon by night, and she was radiant among the infidels like a pearl in the mire . . ."¹⁰

Yaroslav the Wise guided Kievan Russia to its highest peak in the eleventh century. Commerce flourished with Byzantium, while learning and literature advanced under his patronage. Building on his ancestral ties to the West, he took as his wife a Swedish princess, Ingigerd. One of his daughters,

¹⁰*Chronicle*. Known as *Primary Chronicle*, this is the oldest extant historical work written in Rus, compiled in Kiev (c. twelfth century). The chief editor-compiler is the monk Nestor; L. Scheffler: *Text-kritische Apparat zur Nestorchronik* (Munich, 1977), vol. 3. The bibliography of the so-called *Primary Chronicle*, commonly referred to as the (PVL) from its opening sentence: "Lo, this is the tale of bygone years . . ." is immense. But in 1115, Sylvester, the abbot of St. Michael Monastery, introduced new sources, among them the Slavic translation of the *Harmartolus Continuator* (a tenth-century Byzantine chronicle). Later a new revision of the chronicle was undertaken of events up to and including 1117. There is an English translation by Samuel H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), p. 148.

Elizabeth, married Harald Hardraada, who became King of Norway. His daughter Anna became Queen of France, and daughter Anastasia, Queen of Hungary. Royal marriages were arranged for four of his sons.

It was the ascetic tradition of the Byzantine mystics, ancient and medieval, that protected the Orthodox faith from humanistic rationalism, a product of the French Revolution during the period of the Empire. At this time, Peter the Great turned to the western way of thinking, art, architecture, and industrial enterprise.

There have been variations in the degree of the influence and in the elements of Byzantine religious life chosen as patterns for the Slavic nation. From the Bulgarians, Russia received an enormous treasury of translated or adapted Greek religious sermons, devotional books, lives of saints, and synaxaria borrowed from the Egyptian sources of the Fathers of the Desert. For nearly one thousand years, John Klimakos was the prevailing spiritual nurture for the devotion of the laity. Saint Sabbas of Jerusalem, Saint Euthymios, and others were the main ascetics used for edification and daily readings for the mass. This spiritual nurturing preserved the identity of the pious Russians.

The impact of Byzantium and Greek spirituality was received through Mount Athos and ancient ascetical writings known as the *Philokalia*. The mystical form of prayer was revived. And Nilos Sorsky found a posthumous disciple in the person of Paisios Velichkovsky (1722-94) who influenced the spiritual revival after the general decline of the eighteenth century.

Church-State Relations

The basic principle guiding the relations between Church and State — the civil power — is the phrase by which Christ answered the Pharisee sophism: "Pay Caesar what is due to Caesar, and pay God what is due to God" (Mt 22.1). Writing to bewildered communities concerning how to behave before pagan rulers, Saint Paul instructs Christians to respect and

pray for the ruling authorities, irrespective of who they are. Such an attitude was defended by the persecuted faithful who were loyal and obedient to the magistrates, but confessed that above them stands the King of kings and the supreme ruler of all the earthly rulers.

Throughout history this principle has waxed and waned. Certain periods witness a tendency of abused sovereignty over the Church. State and Church are not two competitive bodies, but each fulfils a particular task. In some areas their actions join together for the common good. While the state seeks the earthly promotion of citizens, keeping the law and imposing the law, Christians remain good citizens, looking beyond earthly limited perspectives, and animated by a faith which provides values stemming from another source.

The relationship has not always been uniform. There were moments when the State wanted to impose its strength and authority over the Church, and in a few cases, church leaders, exceeding their competence and clerical identity, wanted to go beyond their duties with inadmissible interference. But generally for the Orthodox, a peaceful cooperation prevailed with the two bodies mutually respecting each other with one moving in the sphere of spiritual domain and the other in the political and economic: συναλληλία, παραλληλία, υπαλληλία.¹¹

At the beginning, the leadership of the newborn Church was assumed by Constantinople. Thus the Kiev metropolitan was appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarch. Consequently, the Byzantine nomocanon system largely influenced the whole administration of Russia. While in Byzantium the principle of partnership-synallelia was prevailing, Russia was found to have a political counter-balance of this system. The loose monarchy of Kiev, after reaching its climax under Vladimir (died 1015) and his son, Jaroslav (died 1054), began to split into a multiplicity of local principalities, not dissimilar to the feudal Europe of the same time.

¹¹S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA, 1953).

Byzantine canon law had tremendous influence in the life of the Church. The Nomocanon could not offer the needed solutions and answers to the complicated problems of their lives, remote from the Mediterranean patterns. Consequently, they tried to compensate with their own adaptations and additions. In view of the confusion produced by additional canons, a new composition was made by a group of clergy from Novgorod (mid twelfth century) among whom Kirik takes first place. The main body of this writing, fashioned as questions and answers, forms a kind of Typikon, ritual details, and penitential disciplinary canons (*epitimia*). Of the same mixed content are two other writings from pre-Mongolian times: the canonical answers of Metropolitan John of Kiev (1080-89), and the so-called Precept of the Holy Fathers to the Confessing Sons, a kind of *Exomologetarion*.

Wisdom and flexibility were exercised in adapting the penitential *epitimia*, borrowed from Constantinople, to the local traditions. Problems of conscience arose in matters such as: eating together with pagans, Jews or even western Christians. The Byzantine canons forbade eating with heretics. Obviously, their aim was to prevent contamination from pagan customs, or bad influence from heretics. Such discipline was enforced because of the large number of heathen groups throughout the immense country, for example, the Polovtsi and other nomads of the steppes. The Russian Orthodox had to live closely with them as merchant-guests, military allies, or war prisoners.

The reciprocal relationship between the Church and the State is defined on the basis of New Testament teaching. There we find that both are considered to be self-sufficient and independent principles apart from all others. As a result, neither must be amalgamated nor equated. While maintaining independence and autonomy, it is good to pursue agreement in all things, and to work together in mutual trust. Both work for the common good, but from different angles, thus, complementing each other. The members of Church and State are the same persons who make up these two distinct bodies.

Both walk together as integral principles and authorities, freely self-regulated according to the internal life, and not allowing either excessive union, or enslavement of one to the other. Further, both employ means toward attainment of their goals, which may be either similar or distinct from each other. In this way, the circle of competence of each is different. Consequently, it is possible to avoid every confusion, mutual interference, and enslavement between the two, since the Church is confined solely to the spiritual, and the state solely to the earthly political. Both are confined within home boundaries. This state of affairs must always be enforced in conjunction with the teaching of the Fathers who accept the following basic principle: "Just as political well-being is synonymous with the good conduct of political leaders, so too, is the ecclesiastical situation synonymous with the good conduct of the Church's shepherds and teachers."¹²

The Church, at any price, must safeguard its spiritual identity, and particularly its mission. She must not become a servant or an exploited instrument for political pursuits, nor be ruled by excessive nationalism. Often, her task is to complete the imperfect and relative which is offered by the State, such as education, welfare and daily life. If man relies exclusively on social care and does not complement this with something everlasting, permanent, and absolute, he will experience an enormous gap or void. This is the mission of the Church. Throughout her history, the Church has penetrated deeply into the national life of Russia cultivating, sanctifying, unifying and transmitting the spiritual values which made Russia a civilized nation able to resist all barbarian assaults. By this care, she has cultivated the self-awareness of the people and developed the resources and gifts of the citizens.

Thus the Orthodox faith became a great regenerative religious and ethical power. The Russian church acted as a cohesive bond among differing tribes and rival ethnic groups, creating common aspirations, sentiments and culture which

¹²John Damascene: *To those who Attack the Holy Icons* 3.12.94.

provided unity. The major contribution of the local Orthodox church was to cultivate fellowship and brotherly bonds between all the sister-churches, thereby, removing any discrimination.

The classical symbioses and two-partner *synallelia* of Byzantium, as well as the high exaltation of the Emperor, is unknown in Russia. Prerogatives attributed by ecumenical or local councils qualifying the emperor as *archiereus* remained void in Russia. Thus, the speech of the Constantinople Council in 488 to the emperor Theodosios II as ἀρχιερεὺ βασιλεῖ and the letter sent by Leo Isaurian the emperor to Gregory II, pope of Rome, where he named himself "imperator et sacerdos"¹³ were used exclusively in Byzantium. Demetrios Chomatianos, answering Constantine Kabasilas, bishop of Dyrrachium, states: "that except to celebrating, all the other bishop's privileges are given to the emperor because he personifies the law and order."¹⁴ Canonical collections consider him as more than a simple layman. But such a picture could not be applied in Russia.

Thus, we find a disagreement of approach between the Patriarch of Constantinople Anthony IV (1389) and Basil I Prince of Moscow. Basil was saying, "We have the Church only, but not a king. Kingdom and Church have many elements in common and are expressed in unity, and the two cannot be separated . . . Our king is most pious and a saintly defender and protector of the Church, but no more than that."¹⁵ In Kievan Russia, far from any sanctification of imperial power, the divine investiture required obedience to the Orthodox faith. The necessity of obedience to the law by the princes is a more frequent topic than obedience to Church authorities. The principle of harmony or symphony of the two spheres of life was applied differently in Russia. It

¹³Mansi 12, 975.

¹⁴Ralles-Potles, 5, 429. Ἀρχιερατικὰ προνόμια σαφῶς εἰκονίζει ὁ Βασίλειος ἐφ' οἷς πράττει νομίμως τε καὶ κανονικῶς.

¹⁵Miklosich-Muller, *Acta et diplomata* 2, 191.

embraced all persons dependent on the church, or else deprived of class or class protection. The extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, confirmed by Vladimir's successors, does not find its precedent in Byzantine canon law. It corresponds more to Western legal conditions, as does the obligatory payment of the tithe for the benefit of the Church.

The independent spirit of Russia is seen during the Council of Florence. On 6 July 1439, the council proclaimed the union between the Eastern and Western Churches. The Orthodox delegation, led by the Emperor John VIII, signed the pact for papal supremacy. Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev, the philo-unionist, was also a Russian delegate. Upon his return to Moscow, he was condemned by the Church, arrested, and imprisoned. The Russians, surprised by this betrayal of the Byzantines, started to doubt their honesty. In 1451, the Russian primate was saying, "The emperor is not the right one, and the patriarch is not the right one." Their embarrassment was increased by the urgent need to find a successor to the deposed Isidore. So, once again, the question of the see of All Russia became the crucial issue in the relations between Russia and Byzantium.

In the eyes of Russia, the Orthodox, by signing the decree of Florence on terms imposed by the pope, betrayed the Orthodox faith. Consequently, the emperor and the patriarch fell into heresy. The primary cause of this regrettable lapse was opportunism, wanting military help from the West. By contrast, the Orthodox faith was preserved in Russia, owing to Basil II, who exposed the traitor Isidore and confirmed the true religion of his ancestors. This contrast between the tragic inconstancy of the Byzantines and the inspired faithfulness of the Russians whet the appetite of few, assuming that Moscow, and not Constantinople, was now the providential center of the true Orthodox faith. This assumption, which was closely linked with the development of post-medieval Russian nationalism, provided the basis for the theory of "Moscow the Third Rome."

Language

We must ascribe credit to Saint Methodios, the first pioneer of indiginization of the local language. As a member of the universal, undivided Church in his day, he did not find it unlawful to introduce a western rite in addition to the Byzantine liturgy. Thus, he adapted the Roman mass, which the earlier Frankish missionaries had introduced into Moravia. Some scholars believe that the oldest Slavonic formulary of the Latin mass, preserved in part in the Glagolitic Kiev Leaflets, is a translation made by Cyril from the liturgy of Saint Peter, itself a Greek adaptation of the Roman mass. There are cogent reasons for supposing that both the Roman and the Byzantine liturgies were translated into Slavonic in the second half of the ninth century.

From the Byzantine point of view, the translation of the liturgical offices into a vernacular language was natural. Cyril, when later defending the Slavonic liturgy against its detractors in Venice, cited the example of many nations of the Orthodox family who praised God in their native language. Among these were the Armenians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Georgians, and the Arabs.¹⁶ But the Western church, in which Latin was recognized as the only legitimate idiom for worship, had reason to look askance at the liturgical experiments of Cyril and Methodios; particularly, as Moravia was ecclesiastically within the jurisdiction of Rome. With their position greatly strengthened by the forced submission of Prince Rastislav to Louis the German in 864, the Frankish clergy in Moravia viewed the activities of the two Byzantine brothers with hostile suspicion.

The interest which Byzantium displayed toward the Slavonic language and liturgy as an instrument of evangelizing the Slavs, is seen in a moving episode that occurred soon after Methodios' death. An envoy of the Byzantine Emperor, visiting Venice, noticed a group of slaves offered for sale by Jewish merchants. On inquiry, he discovered they were

¹⁶*Vita Constantinii*, 16, 7-8.

disciples of Cyril and Methodios whom the Moravians had sold as heretics. He bought them and took them back to Bulgaria to continue their work.¹⁷

This active support given to the Slavs regarding vernacular and indigenous Christianity by Byzantium was part of the intense missionary activity then displayed by the Eastern Orthodox Church, which led to the conversion of Russia and all the Balkan countries. A mission, whose original purpose was to preach the Gospel in the idiom of the Moravians, led to the rise of a Slavonic civilization. The debt which the Slavs owe to Cyril and Methodios is great, indeed. A new world was opened to the Slavs by the work of these two brothers: a Slavonic liturgy, in a language rich, supple, and intelligible; the Scriptures, translated into the same vernacular tongue; and access to the treasury of Greek patristic and ascetic literature and Byzantine secular scientific writings. This new world is apparant in an old Slavonic poem, found in the Prologue to the Slavonic version of the Gospels. Its author compares people without sacred books in their own language to a naked body and to a dead soul, and laments the misery of those who, deprived of letters, can neither hear the peals of thunder nor smell the scent of flowers. And turning to the Slavs, the poet triumphantly exclaims: "Then hear now with your mind, since you have learned to hear, Slavic people. Hear the word, for it came from God, the Word nourishing human souls, the Word strengthening heart and mind, the Word preparing all to know God."¹⁸

The language used in daily life in all public manifestations, but especially in worship of a given country, has tremendous influence for shaping the main characteristics and identity of the people. One sees such influence in the acceptance of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was a way of expression and prayer in the Slavonic church. Thus, Professor

¹⁷Kusseff, "Vita S. Naoum," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 29 (1950-51) 142.

¹⁸F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method, Lehrer der Slaven*, pp. 217-21.

Jakobson has argued that a distinctive feature of Saint Methodios' heritage was the idea that a language used for the celebration of the liturgy acquires a sacred character, which is then assumed by the people who speak it: and the cognate notion that every nation has its own particular gifts and legitimate calling within the universal family of Christian people. This concept of national self-determination shaped the outlook of the early writers of Kievan Russia.¹⁹ Although the Russians created their own local artistic taste blended with Byzantine and indigenous spirit, they possessed an intellectual openness and did not hesitate to embrace other artistic expressions found in their neighborhood. Consequently, in addition to the great influence from Bulgaria, they readily accepted streams from the area where the two brothers had worked during the eleventh century — Moravia and Bohemia. Some writings included in the Czech recension of Old Church Slavonic and available in the Kievan period are the following: the Martyrdom of Saint Vitus; the Martyrdom of Saint Appollinaris of Ravenna; and Gumpold's Life of Saint Wenceslas of Bohemia (all translations from Latin); and the original Slavonic Lives of Saint Wenceslas and Saint Ludmila. The cult of these two Czech saints in Kievan Russia is a striking, but by no means isolated, example of the close cultural and religious links which existed between Russia and Bohemia in the late tenth and eleventh century — a time when Bohemia was still a living repository of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.²⁰

Slavonic language became the medium for the religious expression of the Russians, as well as the foundation of their literature, sacred and profane. The Old Slavonic language has never ceased to enrich the vocabulary and the thought-world of the Russian people, although in the course of time,

¹⁹R. Jakobson, "The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe," *The Review of Politics*, 7 (1945) 29-42.

²⁰*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, 7 (1939-44) 155-80.

the secularized Russian language was re-injected, as dictated by literary fashion.

The vernacular tradition may have acted as a screen between the Russians and the culture of antiquity because a good knowledge of Greek was comparatively rare in medieval Russia. Yet, we must not forget that Old Church Slavonic was modeled on Greek, and that it enabled the Russians to produce an abundant literature of their own, which ranks high in the history of their culture. One element in this tradition has proven of peculiar strength and vitality, that is, the Orthodox liturgy, which so moved the Russian medieval chronicler that he attributed the conversion of his country to the beauty of the public worship in Constantinople. In its Slavonic version, this continues today to bear witness to the undying strength of Orthodoxy in the midst of a Marxist regime. The sense of victory against the evil forces and the triumph of pious souls is conveyed most powerfully in the prologue of the *Life of Constantine* in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, and in the *Life of Saint Stephen of Perm*.

The worshiper in Russia is legitimately proud of his own language, recognizing that in no foreign language could he so easily express his own feelings. This gratitude he expresses in the hymnography addressed to Saint Cyril: "Cyril, glorious teacher of virtue, you taught the Moravians to give thanks to God in their own language, by translating God's religion and its righteousness from Greek into the Slavonic language; therefore, the Slavonic nations now rejoice and glorify God."²¹

In many delicate cases and conflicts, the wise attitude of the Metropolitan of Kiev, a man of Greek origin appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, was of great benefit for the relationship of Church-State in Russia. He knew how to honor secular authority. He represented the ideal relations between

²¹R. Jakobson, "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry," *Actes du XII Congrès International d'études byzantines* (Belgrade, 1963), 1, pp. 261-62.

these two bodies without attempting to rule and interfere in domestic affairs or to transform his influence into political power. Thus, Metropolitan Nikephoros (1121) writes to Monomachos: "The order and the law of the Church requires me to say something useful to the princes at this time of Lent. A prince in the conscience of the Russian Church had to receive with humility the words of admonition dispensed to him by bishops, saintly monks, and his personal spiritual father." The occasional interference of Russian princes with the liturgical rules of the Church or problems of fasting and ecclesiastical discipline was a transgression of their sphere of responsibility. Here, as in other cases, the existence of a higher, more embracing, and ecumenical authority over the local church proved to be beneficial. The patriarch of Constantinople checked the unwise zeal of these Russian princes and taught them submission to spiritual authority in spiritual matters. Still in existence is a letter from Patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges to Prince Andrea on the liturgical conflict with the bishop of Rostov. The historical situation was such that Byzantium became the guardian of ecclesiastical discipline and canonical order for the Russian Church.

Resistance Against Alien Infiltration

Deeply rooted Christian faith with cultural syndromes, like language and local traditions, can preserve the identity of a national church in spite of threats from outside seeking to break the national unity and the composition of such ethnic unity. Religious traditions permeate all departments and aspirations of a given community. They consolidate the oneness as an unbroken family in spite of all historical vicissitudes and socio-economic adventures.

Russia, after having accepted the Orthodox faith from Constantinople, experienced crucial moments during the Mongolian invasion and occupation which lasted more than two centuries (1240-1480). Nomadic Asiatic populations, of Islamic origin, living in the steppes, threatened the unity of the nation; this was regarded as Russia's "withdrawal into

the wilderness." Russia was then a dependent of the Turko-Mongol Empire, which was affiliated with the cultural centers of central Asia. The conversion of the Russians from Slavonic paganism to Christianity was an event of paramount importance and decisive for the future. It united the scattered tribes of the Eastern Slavs into a single state, linked to Byzantium by a common religion, and made that state a member of the Christian community of nations.

The influence of the Orthodox faith is evident by vain attempts for a radical Westernization by Peter the Great in the first quarter of the eighteenth century; the liberal reforms of Alexander II in the nineteenth century, inspired by the slogans of the French Revolution; and the ongoing Marxist regime since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. After the liberation from the Tartar yoke in 1480, internal problems were provoked by Russian imperialism during the imperial coronation of Ivan the Terrible in 1547. Ivan IV captured the Tartar strongholds of Kazan and Astrakhan, and brought about the incorporation of large regions of Islamic culture into the new Russian Empire with an expansion towards Siberia and the Pacific Ocean.

Viewed with secular and socio-political eyes, Byzantine's influence on Russia may be seen as expansionism — political or cultural — with advantages for the Empire. It would be unfair to limit this issue to material motivations. Byzantium was living and aspiring the Christian faith as guide and supreme value on earth. Byzantium wanted to share this wealth with others without cultivating any colonialism. The Gospel should be known to all. The church of Christ lives by growing and transmitting its salutary message to others. Influence from Byzantium was markedly different in character and scope from the impact of Western Europe after the middle of the seventeenth century. The latter split Russian society and created a gulf between the ruling and educated minority on the one hand, and the peasantry on the other.

Byzantine influence, which spread in Russia through the medium of the Orthodox faith and the channel of the upper class, was often slow in filtering down to the other sections

of society. But over the course of the Middle Ages, it pervaded the whole of Russian society in varying degrees from the prince to the peasant, leaving practically no aspect of Russian life untouched. Orthodoxy gradually enveloped more and more of the various social strata. No longer was the distinction between Christianity and paganism in medieval Russia a distinction between the upper classes and the masses, not even during the Kievan period. The former retained something of the pagan ethos, at least as late as the end of the twelfth century, as is evident in the *Lay of Igor's Campaign*. On the other hand, Christianity seems to have spread fairly rapidly among the peasantry soon after Vladimir's conversion. This was due, in part, to the Slavonic liturgy and translation of the Scriptures.

In the most dramatic moments of its history, a few intellectuals influenced by the Age of Enlightenment thought that Western culture might save the nation. Dimitri Obolensky asks, "Can any other cultural unit be found to take up the role relinquished by Byzantium?" This question goes beyond the pure "cultural" identity. It includes the deep physiognomy and soul of a nation, therefore, distinctive from other cultures formed and influenced by different religious aspirations. For, apart from the ethnic and linguistic differences which divide the Russians from the Greeks, these two regions have not always been subjected to the influence of foreign cultures. This being the essential fact insofar as their culture is concerned, it has been decisively moulded and shaped by the influence of Orthodox Christianity and Byzantine civilization. Consequently, the history of their people since the Middle Ages has followed a similar pattern — subjection to an Asiatic yoke, followed by political emancipation and increasing Western pressure. Thus, these two areas constitute a single cultural unit, which may be conveniently termed Eastern Europe.

Another common catalyst was the early acceptance of the same legislation guiding the relations between Church-State. In spite of the interpretation of the spiritual and temporal

spheres in Byzantine society, there always existed in the mind of the Church an unbridgeable gulf between the competence of the State and the sanctifying and saving mission of the Church. In spite of the principle of *symphonia*, the State had an inappropriate attitude. As expressed in Basil's *Epanagoge*, between the *imperium* and the *sacerdotium*, the heavy-handed intervention of the early emperors in the Iconoclast period to the ninth-century settlement constitute cacophonies (tit. 3, 8; in *Collectio librorum juris graeco-romani in c典iorum*). The same unequal relationship is seen in medieval Russia. In the sixteenth century, the all-powerful monarch would impinge upon the sphere of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Although autocratic tsars often reigned, they cannot be described as totalitarian rulers, for they too, like the *basileis* of Constantinople, were forced to respect the moral authority of the Church. The seeds of totalitarianism came from the West. Peter the Great first began to enforce the State's claim to be recognized as the source of all authority in the realm and the ultimate object of man's loyalty. Between 1721 and 1917 a sort of Caesaro-papism could be found in Russia. Again, this partial subjection of the Church to the imperial power was brought about by Peter's limitation of Western Lutheran models. To carry out his reforms he was forced to break down the relationship between Church and State; that was Russia's medieval legacy from Byzantium. This deviation of Western origin is confirmed by Professor Toynbee.²²

On two occasions the resistance of the Orthodox faith was tested against attempts for westernizing reforms by the heads of the Russian Empire, first, by Peter the Great, and second, during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796). Attracted by Polish education and manners inundating Russia, she opened the cultural frontiers for transformations and compromises.

²²*Study of History*, 3, p. 283, n. 3.

The Force of Spiritual Values

A notable feature of treaties between Byzantium and Russia is the evidence it provides of the growing influence of Christian faith upon the ruling circles of Kievan Russia. Some of the envoys who signed the treaty in Constantinople were Christians. The Russian chronicle mentions a Christian church serving the large community of converted Varangians and Khazars in Kiev at that time.

There is another instance of an impressive witness of the Orthodox faith to the envoys of Oleg in 911 during their visit to Constantinople. Hosted by the emperor Leo VI, they were taken through the city, visiting churches and relics, with their guides seizing every opportunity to teach them their faith and instruct them in the true religion. The highlight of this conducted tour was the church of Hagia Sophia. This cathedral had recently been decorated with a series of splendid mosaics. One can imagine the impression on the Russian envoy produced by one of the finest of these mosaics high in the narthex depicting their host, the emperor Leo the Wise, in an attitude of adoration before Christ the Ruler of All, who is seated on the throne of majesty and holds an open gospel book inscribed with the words: "I am the light of the world."

Gradually, this systematic missionary activity through their spoken language was breaking down the isolation of the Russian ambassadors. In 957, Orthodoxy gained its most illustrious Russian convert: Igor's widow, the Princess Olga, regent of the realm during the minority of her son Svyatoslav. She was baptized in Constantinople by the Ecumenical Patriarch, adopting the name Helen, the wife of Constantine VII.

In spite of this esteem for Orthodoxy, Russia was still oscillating. A Western chronicle says that in 959 the same Olga sent envoys to the court of Otto in Germany, asking that a bishop and priests be sent to Russia. Two years later, a German bishop was dispatched to Kiev. Russia, between East and West, in the middle of the tenth century, was standing at a crossroads. Was Orthodoxy or Rome to claim her

final allegiance? The final decision was made by Vladimir who, after his baptism, was married to the sister of the emperor Basil II, Anna.

A ruler, in the historical setting of Vladimir, was puzzled for the future of his country: how to unite into one homogenous entity the diverse tribes scattered throughout this immense mosaic of territory. He knew the superiority of Christianity over all other religions. Undecisive and hesitant, he was resolute that a country cannot rely on its natural resources and territorial advantages. A nation needs moral values and a solid creed on which to build up its life. This addresses the relevance of the crisis in many countries where religion, because of pluralistic realities, becomes marginal and thus plays a meager role in the life of the nation. History is ignored, as well as the contribution of the faith. How then will moral convictions be based within public life? What will be the character and quality of its citizens?

The contention that religion ought to play no public role in life is a peculiar late twentieth-century position. It would hardly have been disputed during the reign of Vladimir that faith was, and ought to be, among the most important convictions. Except for religious rhetoric and the apparent religious content of many official addresses, the prevailing ethos is that of the secular city. Substitutions for the Christian faith are invented. The State should reject all principles and convictions which seek simply to provide equal access for all individuals to pursue their private interests. In many secularized-Laic countries, religion is a private virtue.

In a demagogic way, agnostics and politicians declare, in their electoral tours, the need for some kind of "public virtue," that public good, the real welfare of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued. "Is there no virtue among us?" many ask. To suppose that any form of government, without virtue in the people, will secure liberty of happiness, is a chimerical idea, they conclude. Western constitutions encourage the development of such public virtue. Where are the sources of such public virtue to be found? And how, in

the midst of our cultural pluralism and moral chaos, are we to reach an agreement concerning those values which should guide our public life?

Instead of disclosing the sources of virtue for individuals or the community, we divert the attention of the public to new values and supreme ideals, such as success and self-interest, both leading to a dangerous individualism. The Fathers of the desert and today's spiritual guides fear that if this individual drive for success is left uncurbed, it will undermine the flourishing, but still fragile, experiment in democracy and equality. The quest for the acquisition of wealth has become an absolute, the idolatry of our time. The accumulation of property can thwart public life and reduce the community to a collection of competing individuals. Private gain can overwhelm the public good and thus bring liberty and democracy to an untimely end.

Whatever might be said against Constantine the Great and Vladimir, they unilaterally chose Christianity without having recourse to a public referendum. In critical moments, a leader must make decisions for the many. In exceptional moments, there is no other solutions for the leader except to rely on the wisdom of God to discern what is profitable for the national family.

Vladimir believed that the two most important gains from a new religion were family and spiritual education. Although religion is not identified with a state's competence, it has the capacity, he assumed, to introduce a new level of morality into national life. The main task of religion is to purify, control, and restrain the massive and exclusive taste for well-being. Further, it encourages a communal spirit which is needed in a mosaic or a variety of ethnic groups throughout Russia. These virtues serve as an antidote to the selfishness of competitive individualism. Religion is the first element providing the means by which morality can enter society. He knew, from reading the Bible, that Orthodoxy teaches we must do good to our fellow man for the love of God.

Such an optimistic assessment of the positive role of

religion in society sounds like the dream of a romantic to our cynical twentieth-century ears. Alasdair MacIntyre (in his *After Virtue*), has argued that people who engage in ethical disputes about sexuality cannot reach an agreement, because they argue from "rival and incommensurable moral premises." Moral disagreement, he asserts, is not simply an accidental result of a faulty process of adjudication; it is inherent in the very nature of contemporary moral disputes. Such disputes necessarily resist all efforts at adjudication. We have entered, he says, a new dark age; indeed, the barbarians are already governing us. This is an era of neo-barbarism. So, we must retreat to our homes, cultivate our personal virtues, and await the coming of a new Prophet Isaiah to lead the way for virtue to appear once again on the public scene. For now, we must forego public ethical activity and seek simply to preserve our values.

A society in which individual success and achievement are valued above all else is a society in which the gap can only widen between the successful and the failed, between those who achieve and those who do not, and between the rich and the poor. In that society, equality is threatened with extinction. The greatest danger we face is the imposition of particular subjective trends on basic moral issues, reflecting exclusively personal views as if they represent the Alpha and Omega of Christian life and ethics. The code of life in Christ cannot be different today or tomorrow from that which it has been from the early centuries. Christians were incarnating the will of God in a pagan society. Cannot the same spirit and firm attitude apply today?

There is a danger in that secular trends and diversity may lead to fragmentation — to the creation of parallel separate groups or schools of ethical values, each looking into its own sub-world of reality with its own standards of judgment. But, we need not fall victim to that danger. If we keep the conversation open and critical, then, inevitably, some consensus about our standards of excellence, common goals, and aspirations will emerge.

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The Post-Byzantine Athonite Monk Maximos "the Greek": Reformer of Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy

DENO J. GEANAKOPOLOS

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT EVENT IN THE RELATIONS OF THE Orthodox-Byzantine Church with the Slavic world was the missionary activity among the Slavs of Cyril and Methodios. In 863, at the request of the Slavic ruler of Moravia, the Ecumenical Patriarch Photios sent to convert the Moravians two brothers from Thessalonike, Cyril and Methodios. What is probably most remarkable about this event was that the conversion of the near-barbaric Moravians was accomplished through the medium of their own native Slavonic tongue. Indeed, to facilitate the process Cyril and Methodios invented for the illiterate Slavs an alphabet. Using this alphabet, largely based on Greek letters, and with the intimate knowledge of Slavonic they possessed from childhood associating with the Slavic population around Thessalonike, the brothers may be said to have founded, even created, for the Slavic peoples, the prototype of what is now called Old Church Slavonic letters and literature.¹

¹On the missionary work of Cyril and Methodios there is a large bibliography. I cite only F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, 1970); I. Duichev ed., *Kiril and Methodios: Founders of Slavonic Writing* (Boulder, 1985); and G. Soulis, "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodios to the Southern

The work of Cyril and Methodios is, of course, well known. Far less known, but also highly deserving of recognition, was the work in Russia of a post-Byzantine monk known to the Russians simply as Maxim "the Greek." Living almost a century after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the Orthodox monk from Mount Athos was sent by the Atho-nite community to Moscow, but not to convert the Russians. That, of course, had already been accomplished in 988 when Prince Vladimir the Great had his entire people baptized by Byzantine clergy in the Dnieper River in Kiev. With this auspicious beginning, the Russian church was established under the aegis of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Indeed, though the Russian state was never part of the Byzantine Empire, the Russian church from the start became an integral part of the Orthodox church of Byzantium, and for centuries all, or almost all, of its metropolitans were Greeks appointed by and sent from Constantinople. The Russian church (and the state of Muscovy) prospered but because of the ecclesiastical union pronounced at Florence in 1439 between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, the Russians considered the Byzantines apostates from true Orthodoxy and, in a few decades, had begun to appoint their metropolitan of Kiev, and then Moscow, independently of the Ecumenical Patriarch.

By the time of the sixteenth century, political events — the continued occupation of most of Russia (though not Moscow) by the barbaric Tatars and, of course, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, with subjugation of the Ecumenical Patriarch to the Turkish sultan — had served greatly to weaken the ties between Constantinople and Muscovy. As a result of these and other socio-economic factors, profound moral and spiritual corruption, including beliefs in astrology and sorcery, began to envelop Russian society and the church. Thus, by the late fifteenth and early

Slavs," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1985); and A. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970).

sixteenth centuries, Russia was experiencing a very dark decadent period, possibly the worst in all of Russian history.

With respect to the Orthodox religion in particular, the traditional doctrines and practices (including knowledge of the Greek church fathers and the liturgy itself) had become so distorted as, at times, to be almost unrecognizable. Such, in brief, were conditions of life and especially of the church in Russia when Maximos, the monk from Mount Athos, set forth on his ecclesiastical mission to Moscow.²

Maximos was a remarkable, many-faceted personality. Born in Arta in Epiros in c. 1470, his lay name was Michael Trivolis.³ Only several decades ago, the sensational discovery was made that Maximos "the Greek" who appeared in Russia in the early part of the sixteenth century was the learned Greek monk Maximos Trivolis who, earlier, had spent several years studying ancient Greek and Latin literature in Renaissance Italy at the height of its humanist

²See standard histories of Muscovy, i.e., G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, v. 3 and 4. *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, 1959). N. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1977) but with hardly a mention of Maximos.

³On Michael Trivolis, see esp. E. Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident. Contribution a l'histoire de la pensée religieuse et philosophique de Michel Trivolis* (Paris-Louvain, 1942). The very first biography written on Maximos (in Russian) was V. Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremya*, 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1915). See also the valuable early work in Greek by G. Papamichael, *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός. Ὁ πρῶτος φωτιστής τῶν Φώσσεων* (Athens, 1950), which has rarely been used by Western scholars of Maximos. J. Haney, author of the first biography in English on Maximos, *From Italy to Muscovy, The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek* (Munich, 1973), a good, very clear work, makes no use of Papamichael, asserting that Papamichael used no Russian sources, which seems questionable. See now the very perceptive study of D. Obolensky, "Italy, Mount Athos, and Muscovy: The Three Worlds of Maximos the Greek," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, v. 67 (1981-82) 143-61, reprinted in his *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988). (Obolensky does not discuss Papamichael's work.) One of the contributions of the present study is its utilization of Papamichael in many respects.

achievement.⁴ More strikingly, in Florence he had become a Dominican monk, living for a time in the San Marco convent of the famous ascetic Dominican Savonarola.⁵ For some reason, very possibly dissatisfaction with the overly secular Italian humanist attitudes and mode of life — not to underrate his always intense attraction to the Orthodox monastic life — Maximos returned to the Greek East to live as a monk on Mount Athos in the monastery of Vatopedi. At that monastery, which he may well have chosen because it possessed the richest Athonite manuscript library of Greek church fathers and ecclesiastical writings, he spent an entire decade. Yet almost no evidence survives of his life there (outside of a few statements of his own made later in Russia), a fact which makes one suspect that he may not have lived the cenobitic life then typical of the more disciplined Athonite monasteries. Instead, he may have chosen to live the stricter, solitary life of an anchorite, or with one or two other companion monks in a skete nearby.⁶

Maximos' reputation for learning, not only in the classical Greek literary tradition, but more especially in the ecclesiastical literature and spiritual tradition of the Greek church fathers, was becoming more widely known. Thus when the Grand Prince Vasili III Ivanovich of Muscovy, son, by the way, of the Byzantine Princess Sofia Palaiologina (who had married the Grand Prince of Muscovy) sent a request to the

⁴On Maximos in Italy in general, see Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec*, passim. Also Haney, pp. 18-26. On Trivolis' association with Aldus Manutius, see Denissoff, pp. 190-97, 429-30; Ikonnikov, pp. 134-35. D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 114, n. 14; 126, n. 51; and 126, n. 66. On Savonarola, see esp. Denissoff.

⁵Denissoff, pp. 95, 458; A. Ivanov, "Maksim Grek i Savonarola, in *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoy Literatury*, v. xxiii (1968) 163; and Obolensky, 146-47, all citing an unpublished chronicle of the San Marco monastery in Florence under 1502 referring to "Frater Michael Emmanuelis de civitate Arta," who was then professed as a monk at that monastery.

⁶On the crucial ten year period of Maximos on Mount Athos, see Papamichael, pp. 35-37ff, Haney, pp. 26-28, 33-34. Maximos wrote several Greek epitaphs on Mount Athos which survive.

Protos of Mount Athos that an Athonite monk learned in the writings of the New Testament be sent to Moscow to help restore the original texts of Orthodoxy for the Russian church, Maximos was chosen. It is not entirely clear what the role of the patriarch of Constantinople was in the matter. But it is obvious that the patriarch would have more than welcomed the opportunity to become involved, given the break in relations that existed between Moscow and the Patriarchate.⁷

On his mission to Moscow, Maximos, in June or July of 1516, stopped first at the Patriarchate in Constantinople. There two new members were added to his group, the metropolitan of Joannina, Gregory, and the patriarch's archdeacon Theophilos, both to be personal envoys to the Grand Prince from Patriarch Theoleptos.⁸ There can be no doubt that Maximos' instructions from the patriarch included, above all, the aim of restoring to the Russian church its former direct connection with, and subordination to, Constantinople. As we will note, Maximos in Russia sought whenever he could to show (and his writings so indicate) that the Greek sacraments, far from being contaminated as many Russians believed as a result of the signing of religious union between the Greek and Roman churches at Florence, were still in all respects valid.⁹ As he clearly implied, it was rather Russian

⁷For Vasilii's letter, see Obolensky, pp. 149-50. The Grand Prince first requested that the learned Greek monk Savas of the Vatopedi Monastery come to Russia as translator, but he was too old and infirm to travel. The Athonite authorities then fixed on Maximos.

⁸On the important but not entirely clear point of the Patriarch's involvement in Maximos' initial summons to Moscow, see W. Medlin and C. Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia* (Geneva, 1971), pp. 22-23. Also Papamichael, p. 47; Obolensky, p. 150.

⁹On the union proclaimed at the Council of Florence (for whose acceptance the Russians believed the Greeks apostates to Orthodoxy), see D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1962) chap. 3 on the Council of Florence; and esp. his forthcoming *Constantinople and the West* (Madison, 1989) essay no. 11. On events preceding the break between the Metropolitan of Moscow Iona and the patriarch of Constantinople, see documents in D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1985),

beliefs and practices that had deviated from true Orthodoxy.¹⁰

After his arrival in distant Moscow in 1518, Maximos began his work of textual rectification by translating, at the request of the Grand Prince and the Metropolitan of Moscow, the copious commentaries on the Orthodox Psalter written by the Orthodox church fathers.¹¹ The Psalter was very important not only for the church but also in the social and educational life of Russia. In the primary schools it was used as a basic tool for reading. It was also used for popular adult reading and even as a kind of book of magic or occultism. Another reason for its significance was that certain heretics of the time — and Russia was then in religious ferment not least because of heretical influences, especially of the so-called Judaizers — drew some of their dogmas from the corrupted and misunderstood text of the Psalter.¹² Above all, since the Psalter was read during performance of the Orthodox liturgy, it served to educate the parishioners of the community in Orthodox beliefs. After completing translation of the Psalter and its many commentaries — to genuine approval from the

pp. 354-55. On Maximos' belief in the non-contamination of the Greek sacraments, see text and next note.

¹⁰E. Golubinskii, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* (Moscow, 1904), 2, p. 700 says the Russian Metropolitan Ioassaf did not consider the Greek faith impure (a rare view then for a Russian, especially a clergyman). His view was, however, probably owing to Maximos' influence on him.

¹¹On Maximos' translation of the (Greek) patristic commentaries on the Psalter, see Haney, p. 47; Obolensky, p. 150 and esp. Papamichael, pp. 41-42. H. Olmsted, "A Learned Greek Monk in Muscovite Exile: Maksim Grek and the Old Testament Prophets," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 3 (1988), p. 50, n. 5, believes with N. Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* (Moscow, 1977) pp. 63-65 (and others) that Maximos first began to translate the Apostle (*Acts* and the epistles of Saint Paul) from the New Testament even before translating the commentaries on the Psalter.

¹²On the heretical Judaizers, see N. Kazakova and Y. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniya na Rusi XIV-nachala XVI veka* (Moscow-Leningrad). Also Haney, pp. 38-44; and Papamichael, pp. 159ff. Also Medlin and Patrinelis, p. 24. Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, 1972), pp. 313-14.

high Russian prelates and government authorities — Maximos was commissioned to translate other important ecclesiastical texts, including the apostolic canons, the canons of ecumenical and local councils collected and interpreted by Matthew Vlastares, the homilies of Chrysostom, the Gospels of Matthew and John, Symeon Metaphrastes' *Life of the Virgin*, and also apocryphal works,¹³ to mention many of his translations.

A word about Maximos' method of translation on the commentaries to the Psalter. On his arrival in Moscow, he apparently knew little, if any, Slavonic, (although several scholars, including Papamichael, Ikkonikov, and Olmsted, think he may have learned a bit on the long trip to Moscow.)¹⁴ Thus his method of translation had necessarily to be circuitous.

He would first translate (orally) a passage in Greek from the liturgy into Latin. Then a Russian named Dimitri Gerasimov (who earlier had served as Russian envoy to Rome) translated from Maximos' Latin into Russian. Obviously, because of this method of indirection, in which Maximos had no control over the final Slavonic product, mistakes inevitably crept into the translation.¹⁵ Thus the Grand Prince and the newly appointed Metropolitan of Moscow Daniel, though initially pleased with Maximos' translations, began to complain and soon they, especially Metropolitan Daniel (but also for

¹³On his many translations, see Haney, pp. 47, 53ff. and with details, esp. Papamichael, pp. 47-63. Cf. also Olmsted, p. 31, esp. on the Virgin Mary. Maximos wrote a "Discourse Against the Blasphemers of the Most Pure Mother of God."

¹⁴Obolensky, p. 150, cites the letter that Maximos' abbot on Mount Athos directed to the Grand Prince, saying that before Maximos went to Moscow, he knew no Russian. Obolensky, p. 151, thinks he may well have had a smattering of one of the Slavonic languages spoken on Mount Athos. Papamichael, p. 45, (and others) logically believe Maximos may well have learned some Slavonic from his companions (who included a Bulgarian) on the long extended one and one-half year trip to Moscow.

¹⁵On this method of transportation, see Haney, pp. 46-47; Papamichael, pp. 52-53; Obolensky, pp. 150-53, and Olmsted, pp. 2-3.

other reasons, as we shall see) became badly disposed to Maximos. What came much more to arouse their antipathy, however, was the attitude and critical stance Maximos himself began to assume.

The fact is that, as he gradually but inexorably became aware of the miserable conditions and inequities of Russian life and society, especially the laxness and corruption of the high clergy and abbots with their great monastic lands and exploited serfs, Maximos became troubled. Indeed, so much so that he began, little by little, to assume for himself the role of critic of the Russian church and society. One matter in particular that evoked Maximos' increasingly vehement criticism was the so-called doctrine and practice of possession of land by the great monasteries. This question of possession had split the Russian church, the leader of the Possessors being the Metropolitan of Moscow Daniel, and of the Non-Possessors, the monk Nil Sorsky. In this matter, Maximos favored the non-Possessors' party.¹⁶

At times, as may be seen from his writings (which Russian scholars such as D. Bulanin, N. Sinitsina, and A. Ivanov, are now engaged in reediting and analyzing philologically), he would recall his own experiences on Mount Athos, where the monasteries, largely cenobitic but in part idiorrhythmic (that is, each monastery living according to its own regulations) did not possess great estates worked by oppressed serfs.¹⁷ Understanding the rather simple mentality of most

¹⁶On monastic possession, see Papamichael, pp. 229-46; Haney, pp. 43ff., 49; Obolensky, pp. 153-55; and J. Meyendorff, "Une controverse sur le rôle au XVI^e siècle en Russie (Chevtogne, 1956). Also N. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniya* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960). The monk Vassian became a close friend to Maximos and was influenced by him.

¹⁷On Maximos' writings describing the monasteries of Mount Athos, see A. Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka, Kharakteristika, atributsii, bibliografiya* (Leningrad, 1969), p. 51; Papamichael, pp. 412-13, 234-41; Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikiev*, pp. 62, 236; Haney, pp. 47-49. Maximos emphasized that on Athos all monastic property was held in common and that monks labored for their sustenance. He made no mention of monasteries possessing villages and peasants, pointing out that almost

Russians, Maximos wrote a vivid allegorical dialogue between two characters, Aktimon (the non-Possesser) and Filoktimon (the lover of possessions) in which he very unfavorably compared the latter to the former. What he really seemed to be saying, in a broad sense, was that those persons who acquire wealth and use it only to further their own acquisitive desires rather than to help the poor, are reprehensible, especially if they are monks or high ecclesiastics.¹⁸ As noted, Maximos' strongly held views on monastic possession were shared by the prominent Russian figure Nil Sorsky, his good friend who headed the Transvolga monks, and the latter's successor, Vassian Patrikiev,¹⁹ who was later condemned, partly because he adhered too closely to Maximos' tenets. Both these monks were influenced by Maximos' views not only on the question of monastic property but on the proper life of the monks, on specific theological questions, and even by his insight into the spirituality of hesychasm. Maximos himself, as is not always realized, accepted hesychastic contemplative views²⁰ as did Nil, who, like earlier Russian monks from the late tenth century onward, had visited Mount Athos, especially the Russian monastery of Panteleimon.

In time Maximos incurred the dislike not only of Metropolitan Daniel but also of other persons and groups whom he criticized, especially the Boyars of the Muscovite court.²¹ The Boyars probably felt that Maximos strongly articulated that views seemed to deny also to them their lordship over

no laymen worked for the Athonite monasteries. On his writings, see now D. Bulanin, *Perevod i poslania Maksima Greka* (Leningrad, 1984) and N. Sinitsian, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* (Moscow, 1977) on his Mss.

¹⁸On the dialogue, "Aktimon and Philotimon," see Haney, pp. 101-102; Obolensky, p. 160; and Papamichael, pp. 242-45.

¹⁹On Maximos' relations with Nil Sorsky and Vassian, see Papamichael, pp. 164-65; Obolensky, pp. 134-35; and Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikiev*, pp. 75-77.

²⁰See esp. B. Schultze, "Maxime Grek als theologe," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (1963), pp. 185-89. Cf. J. Kalogerou, *Περὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ B. Schultze Κρητικὴν ἐξέτασιν Μαξίμου Γραικοῦ ὡς Θεολόγου* (Thessalonike, 1966).

their great estates and their power over the peasant workers on their lands.

More serious for Maximos, on the political side, was the charge by adherents of the Grand Prince that Maximos was associating, treasonously, with the envoy of the Turks to Moscow, Russia's enemy. It seems, however, that the Turkish envoy may himself have been a Greek (named Iskander, that is Alexander) who had been appointed ambassador in accord with the traditional Ottoman practice of utilizing the services of learned, multi-lingual Greek Phanariots of Constantinople to serve as their envoys abroad. Maximos' relations with Iskander, therefore, are understandable in a country in which he must have felt himself entirely alone.²² Moreover, he may well, as time went on, have felt that the ambassador could bring pressure on the Sublime Porte to influence the Russian authorities to permit him to return to Greece.

The longer Maxim remained in Muscovy, the more caustic he became in his criticism of Russian religious, social, and cultural life. Of a critical cast of mind to begin with, and of a restless, rather intemperate personality as well, he soon became condemnatory in his speech and in the letters which he began sending to various officials of the church and government. Maximos was, to be sure, generally correct in his evaluation of conditions in Russia but he did not seem sufficiently to appreciate that genuine change in such a decadent, divided society could come about only gradually. Thus, in time, even the Grand Prince, initially so well-disposed to Maximos, began to be angered when Maximos, on what the latter considered canonical grounds, opposed (but not publicly) the prince's divorce and a second marriage in the aim of producing a male heir to the throne.²³ At one point, Maximos translated and sent to the prince the treatise of the ninth-century Byzantine Patriarch Photios on the proper conduct

²²Papamichael, p. 310; cf. Haney, pp. 59-60.

²³Papamichael, p. 253ff.; Haney, pp. 52, 61, 177.

of an Orthodox ruler over his subjects.²⁴ The clear implication was that the Grand Prince was not acting according to the criteria of a truly Orthodox prince. In the course of discussions with the Grand Prince and others of the church and court, Maximos at times would apparently cite the *Epanagoge*, a legal treatise drawn up, (presumably) again by the Patriarch Photios, on the proper relations between emperor and church.²⁵ The fact that, according to the *Epanagoge*, ruler and patriarch were portrayed as supreme each in his own sphere, was doubtless not lost on the Prince who was seeking to dominate virtually all aspects of the Russian church, especially the administrative.

The inevitable result of all this intense, at times cautious but more often imprudent, criticism on the part of Maximos, with so many powerful individuals and interests becoming increasingly irritated by him, was that Maximos was haled before an ecclesiastical tribunal for trial. Indeed, this happened twice,²⁶ the principal charge first levied against him being that of wrongly translating the sacred Orthodox texts of the Russian church — a charge that in very few instances may have been correct (as he seems later, grudgingly, to have admitted²⁷) owing to his originally indirect method of translation and, as he said, the misunderstanding of his intended meaning on the part of his Russian collaborators. The main force, however, behind the charges — which also included heresy, impiety to the Russian saints, intemperate and irreverent criticism of the Russian church, and, notably, if not surprisingly, his efforts to restore Russia's ecclesiastical allegiance to Constantinople²⁸ — was his nemesis

²⁴Papamichael, pp. 134-36.

²⁵On the *Epanagoge* and for selections from the *Epanagoge*, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, Civilization*, pp. 139-40.

²⁶On Maximos' trials (in 1525 and 1531), see Obolensky, pp. 156-57; Haney, pp. 64-79; and Papamichael, p. 308ff.

²⁷See below n. 30.

²⁸On the specific charges against Maximos, see Haney, pp. 64-83; Obolensky, pp. 156-57; and Papamichael, *ibid*.

Metropolitan Daniel. Daniel, as noted, strongly favored the monastic Possessor party and was essentially opposed to any rapprochement with the Patriarchate of Constantinople.²⁹ Not unpredictably, Maximos was convicted on largely exaggerated or trumped-up charges against which he firmly maintained his innocence on all counts.³⁰

His sentence was incarceration for life in the monastery of Volokolamsk which, unfortunately for Maximos, was under the control of archenemy Metropolitan Daniel. At the same time Maximos was to be permanently bound in irons, anathematized, and probably worst of all for him, deprived of the consolation of receiving holy communion.³¹ In his second trial in 1531 (after he stubbornly refused to concede any guilt), he was again brought before an ecclesiastical court. Once more he was convicted and imprisoned, for a time in the monastery at Otroch and then, finally, in the monastery of the Holy Trinity at St. Sergios near Moscow.³² But his latter imprisonments were to prove progressively somewhat less harsh, for at Tver he was put under the supervision of the bishop of the area, Akakios, a friendly and compassionate man, while at St. Sergios he had as his overseer Abbot Artemios, who developed a feeling of friendship and even admiration for Maximos. The abbot permitted Maximos to have visitors in his cell, who would often engage in long, insightfully conversations with him. Maximos also was now allowed to write letters and treatises and even to correspond with a wide circle of persons in and outside of Russia. Finally, after twenty-three years of imprisonment, Maximos was granted

²⁹Obolensky, p. 157. Not all the high clergy were opposed to the tie with the patriarch of Constantinople, as e.g., Kurbsky's uncle (see above n. 21).

³⁰But see Papamichael, p. 317, on Maximos' later request for forgiveness for his "errors" of translation in the Psalter on grounds of misunderstanding by himself and especially his collaborators.

³¹Perhaps equally bad, he was strictly prohibited from reading or writing to anyone: Obolensky, p. 156; Olmstead, pp. 4-5.

³²Papamichael, pp. 377-79; Haney, p. 87.

the right to receive holy communion.³³

Though imprisoned in several monasteries one after the other, up to only some five years before his death in 1556 at age 86 (or more), Maximos, remarkably it seems, was able to affect the thinking of a not inconsiderable number of significant and influential people in Russia, not least including some of the most prominent ecclesiastics. Through his personal meetings with all manner of individuals in his cell (which, Obolensky affirms, probably accurately, he had indiscreetly turned into a kind of salon for dissidents),³⁴ and perhaps even more, through the often long and didactic letters Maximos wrote to them and others regarding suggested reforms for church and society — these letters, by the way, were often circulated widely³⁵ — he had, one may believe, a considerable impact directly or indirectly on the thinking of certain leaders of the Russian church, court, and culture.

Maximos' faith and constancy in the face of his dreadful, almost ceaseless torment, was exemplary. But, finally, in 1545, sick in body and even more in spirit, he wrote to the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople several times beseeching him to intercede with the Grand Prince so that he would be allowed to return quietly to Mount Athos to live out the rest of his life. The Patriarch did in fact several times write to seek his release.³⁶ But the xenophobic prince and no less xenophobic metropolitans and boyars, would not accede to the Patriarch's request. In the view of the Russian ecclesiastical and political authorities Maximos was probably considered not only a dangerous, even subversive, critic of Russian government, society, and the church, but an official representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople — a leader,

³³Haney, p. 86; Obolensky, p. 158.

³⁴Obolensky, p. 155.

³⁵Papamichael, p. 378ff.; cf. Olmstead, p. 8-9.

³⁶The patriarch of Constantinople and also of Alexandria, in the mid-1540s, wrote to the Grand Prince (later Tsar Ivan IV "the Terrible"), requesting Maximos' release. See esp. Papamichael, p. 333; Obolensky, p. 158.

Russian eyes, of a now generally mistrusted Greek Orthodox church.³⁷ Worse, in view of Maximos' sojourn in Italy, some educated Russians may have believed him to be tainted with the near-pagan, humanistic beliefs of Renaissance Italy. Papamichael, the modern Greek biographer of Maximos, asserts that the attempts of the Patriarch to secure his release failed because the Grand Prince feared the outside world would hear not only of the gross conditions then existing in Russia but especially of the cruel, inhumane treatment accorded Maximos.³⁸ One might add to this the very plausible Russian fears that the tortures inflicted on Maximos might create anti-Russian sentiment in the Orthodox world over which the Russian Grand Prince was then beginning to claim a certain vague, protective authority.³⁹ As we know, at one point, the Patriarch of Alexandria joined the Patriarch of Constantinople in appealing to the prince in behalf of Maximos.⁴⁰

Whatever the reasons for the Russian refusal to release him, Maximos continued until only some five years before his death to remain in captivity. But he persisted until death with all his vigor in the work he had marked out for himself, that of seeking to raise the spiritual level of the Russian church and people, always in accord with Orthodox Byzantine theology, morality, and tradition. It was during the latter half of his imprisonment, especially under the friendly Bishop Akakios in Tver, that he wrote a "Confession of the Orthodox Faith," actually a series of essays as a defense against heretics — including Jews, Muslims, Armenians, and Latins⁴¹ (the latter of whom, by the way, he was in some

³⁷The Russians (but not including some educated Russians such as Kurbsky and his uncle: see n. 72 below) viewed the Greeks, after the Council of Florence, as apostates to Orthodoxy.

³⁸Papamichael, p. 343. Ikonnikov, p. 475, had always expressed this view.

³⁹See R. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 320-25.

⁴⁰Papamichael, p. 333; Obolensky, p. 158.

⁴¹Papamichael, pp. 225ff.; Haney, pp. 53-54.

respects, tolerant of).⁴² He also wrote scholarly manuals on the proper method of translating from Greek into Russian and a lexicon of Greek and Latin terms, based apparently on the ancient Greek work known as the *Suda Lexicon*, which, along with many ecclesiastical works, he had brought with him to Russia. In these writings of his (mainly written to further reform of the church), he drew upon his translation work in Russia⁴³ and on the knowledge of the advanced philological methods he had learned earlier in Italy, especially from important Greek refugee scholars from Byzantium such as Janus Lascaris.⁴⁴ (He was the first to introduce modern scientific, philological methods to Russia). These works were later published by Moscow's printing press and became before long authoritative texts in Russia.⁴⁵

In his religious treatise "Confession of Faith," Maximos' aim was again to point out and correct errors of translation in the Russian ecclesiastical texts, errors which could and often did lead to heresy.⁴⁶ To mention one example, Maximos showed that in the Russian *Horologion*, Jesus was mistakenly portrayed as more man than God, contrary (he said) to the common Russian belief, equally incorrect, that Jesus' divinity was more important than his humanity.⁴⁷ Maximos also affirmed that the Russian *Triodion* erroneously portrayed

⁴²Papamichael, p. 31, and Haney, pp. 69, 75, for Maximos' praise of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carthusians for their discipline.

⁴³On translation from Greek to Russian, see Haney, pp. 47, 106-09. And now esp. D. Bulanin, *Perevodziposlaniia Maksima Greka* On the many books, ecclesiastical and profane, he brought with him to Russia, see esp. Papamichael, p. 48.

⁴⁴Haney, pp. 18, 20ff. See also Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice*, pp. 114-15ff.; Ikonnikov, p. 193; and others. Maximos introduced methods of philological analysis hitherto unknown in Russia. Ikonnikov also affirms Maximos' style is exceedingly difficult, as he utilized Latinisms, Greek, and even Italian as well as Russian. See Olmsted, p. 46f.

⁴⁵On Maximos' connections with the Russian printing press, see Haney, p. 88. Also Papamichael, pp. 485-87.

⁴⁶Haney, p. 54.

⁴⁷See Haney, pp. 116-17; and esp. Ikonnikov, pp. 176-77.

Christ as a created being, and that after his crucifixion, he at once rose from the dead, whereas Orthodox Christianity affirms that it was on the third day after death that Christ was resurrected.⁴⁸ Another example of Maximos' corrective textual work occurs in his early translation of the Psalter where, in speaking about Christ's eternity, he utilized the aorist tense. Maximos' grammatical use here of the aorist (that is, perfect) tense was explicitly condemned at his first trial by the prosecution as heresy, since it would, of course, have indicated a finite existence for Christ.⁴⁹ (This translation had been his first, done when he still had little knowledge of Russian.) The charge of heresy on the grounds of mistranslation is particularly ironic since his journey to Moscow was specifically undertaken to improve the Russian liturgical texts.

I have noted that throughout his sojourn in Russia, Maximos sought, little by little, to restore the former ecclesiastical connection between Russia and the ecumenical patriarch. Thus he wanted the Russian church to denounce its assumed autonomy and return to its old allegiance. It was his assertion that the Russian action was unilateral and therefore uncanonical.⁵⁰ Indeed, as he noted, the Byzantine church itself (in 1484) had officially condemned the ecclesiastical union of Florence with Rome.⁵¹ As Maximos wrote in one letter: "Even if the ruler [that is emperor] is expelled from Constantinople, the spiritual head remains and has preserved Orthodoxy inviolate among the unbelievers."⁵²

⁴⁸Papamichael, pp. 260-64; cf. Haney, pp. 71, 117.

⁴⁹Cf. *ibid.* pp. 80-81; Papamichael, p. 264; Ikonnikov, pp. 176-77.

⁵⁰On Maximos and the "autocephalous-acting" Russian church, see Haney, pp. 74-76; also Obolensky, p. 156.

⁵¹See Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 227, on the Greek church's official condemnation in 1483 of the union signed at Florence in 1439.

⁵²Haney, pp. 75-76; also Olmsted, p. 7, on Metropolitan Ioasaf. Probably under Maximos' influence, Ioasaf came to believe the Patriarch's orthodoxy was not impure.

According to the trial transcript, the prosecution alleged that Maximos sought to encourage the Russian Grand Prince, as the one strong Orthodox leader remaining in the world, to launch a military expedition to recover Constantinople from the Turks.⁵³ And in the years before his imprisonment and soon after completing his translation of the Psalter, Maximos wrote as follows in a letter to the Grand Prince Vasilii with whom he was then still on friendly terms:

O that we could succeed one day to free ourselves from the yoke of the infidel [Turks]. The New Rome [Constantinople] is tossed about by waves of the Turks, but let us beseech God that she will be freed during your most pious reign and that your paternal throne will be blessed by an heir, who, through you, will see the light of freedom shining on us benighted souls.⁵⁴

The desire to see Constantinople and Greece liberated from the Turks is here clearly expressed. But implicit, too, is the thought of Maximos that Russia should at the same time seek to liberate the ecumenical patriarch who stands above the churches of both Constantinople and Russia. While Maximos here refers to the second Rome [Constantinople], it is of no little significance that almost nowhere in any of his writings does he seem to mention the famous Russian theory of Moscow as the "Third Rome," though it was at this very time that the theory was circulating in Muscovy.⁵⁵ Probably, as one modern scholar puts it, he was ambivalent about the theory, if he was ever sincere about it.⁵⁶ In one of his writings Maximos insisted that the bishop's power is

⁵³On the charges, see Obolensky,, pp. 156-57.

⁵⁴See in K. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation 1453-1669, The Cultural and Greek Society*, trans. I. Moles (New Brunswick, 1976), 2, p. 167; cf. Obolensky, pp. 159-60.

⁵⁵See Papamichael, pp. 470, 472, 506-07; and Obolensky, pp. 159-60, who believes "Maximos never truly or sincerely accepted the idea of the 'third Rome.'" Also Haney, p. 76 and n. 68.

⁵⁶Obolensky, pp. 159-60.

higher than of a king because it is blessed by God.⁵⁷ On another occasion when a Russian prelate called Moscow "the Second Jerusalem," Maximos sharply rebuked him, affirming "there is only one Jerusalem."⁵⁸

Let us take a closer look at Maximos' criticism of the Russian church. Particularly disturbing to Maximos was the very crude attitude of the Russian people toward their religion. As Papamichael rightly stresses, the Russian people had become addicted (as often do less advanced cultures) to the technical forms of their beliefs and worship (*typolatrea* in Greek), that is, of its external manifestation rather than internal.⁵⁹ Thus it was for the Russian of that day a matter of prime concern how many times in the liturgy one recited Halleluia, genuflected before the icons, crossed oneself, or recited *Gospodyomilui*, (*Kyrie eleison*).⁶⁰ In certain of his writings Maximos criticized the Russians for unduly focusing on these points while showing too little interest in the more meaningful aspects of Orthodoxy, or, as he put it, in not putting into practice the articles of the faith for leading a good moral life. But both the archconservative clergy and people held adamantly to practices and beliefs they believed the Byzantine clergy had originally transmitted to them at the time of the conversion of Prince Vladimir of Kiev and his people in the late tenth century. To take one overemphasized example, the Russian habit of making the sign of the cross. Was it, and should it, now be done with two fingers to represent the divinity and humanity of Christ, or with three, to represent the Trinity?⁶¹

It is important to stress here that corruption had only

⁵⁷Haney, p. 76, indicating passages in Maximos' writings.

⁵⁸Haney, pp. 76-77; Papamichael, p. 266; also Schultze, pp. 280ff.

⁵⁹See esp. Papamichael, pp. 67-69.

⁶⁰Papamichael, *ibid*.

⁶¹See esp. on *typolatrea*, Papamichael, pp. 99ff. and for information on the "three fingers" or "two fingers" used to make the sign of the cross, cf. also H. Niess, *Kirche in Russland. Tradition und Glaube* (Göttingen, 1977).

gradually affected Russian beliefs and practices during the last several centuries, not only because of Russia's serious internal and external problems (including heretical texts) but also because Moscow had been virtually cut off from the sources of Orthodoxy, Constantinople and Mt. Athos. This isolation of Russia can of course be easily exaggerated. Recent research reveals that even after 1453, there were more instances than generally realized of individuals (usually ecclesiastics or monks seeking alms), travelling between Moscow and Constantinople and Mt. Athos. I stress again the difficulty, often, for the historian to establish exactly, which original ecclesiastical beliefs and practices had, over time, become corrupted or changed. I have already alluded to the matter of making the sign of the cross, a question that became even more controversial after Maximos' death.

An example of Maximos' almost feverish activity to correct Russian ecclesiastical texts may be seen in his composition of the discourse *Against the Dialogue of the Three Hierarchs*, that is, of the *Old Testament*. In his treatise he rejected popular Russian belief that Adam, after the expulsion from Eden, had been forced by the powerful devil (who controlled the earth), to sign a contract of bondage to him.⁶² In other works he attacked popular Russian belief that Christ had been ordained by the Jews,⁶³ and also the extremely strange Russian belief in the apocryphal life of Judas, in which, like the ancient Greek Oedipus, he supposedly killed his father and married his mother. But Maximos was especially shocked at the utter Russian refusal to bury the bodies of those who had drowned or had died as the result of violence in the belief that infertility of the soil would result from burial of these dead. Maximos pointed out that even the pagan Greeks had buried their dead and they were not even Christian.⁶⁴ From

⁶²On this, see esp. Papamichael, 1, p. 101.

⁶³Papamichael, p. 105, on the Russian view of Christ's ordination by the Jews.

⁶⁴Papamichael, p. 106, on Oedipus. Also Papamichael, p. 113, on non-burial as a result of violence.

imagine the jumble of superstition, apocryphal tales of pagan Greek, Bogomil, old Viking, Persian, or Gnostic origin, also misunderstood Orthodox or Judaic beliefs and so on, that constituted the provenience for such stories in the Russian society of the time. The combatting of all these manifestly non-orthodox beliefs through the constant writing of letters, treatises and so on was a formidable task for Maximos.

In this paper I have been able to outline only a few of the reforms Maximos favored in Russia. But I think that enough has been said to give some idea of the purpose of his activity, the methods he used, and the results he hoped to achieve. Indeed, there seems no doubt that many of Maximos' ideas were circulating throughout Muscovy either in the form of his impassioned letters to friends or, orally, in conversation, thereby exerting a continuing influence on at least the higher echelons of Russian society.⁶⁵ It is probably, therefore accurate, I believe, to affirm that Maximos not only helped to revitalize Orthodoxy in Russia, but also to say that it was largely his work that led, later, to the gradual recovery and strengthening of the virtually broken link between the patriarchate of Constantinople and Russia.⁶⁶ True, he was not able during his own lifetime to effect the full restoration of this tie. Yet it was his efforts more than those of anyone else that paved the way, forty years later in 1589, for the memorable visit of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem to Moscow, which resulted in their installation

⁶⁵Ikonnikov, pp. 510-13 emphasizes that all during the years of Maximos' captivity, his letters and treatises were circulating in Muscovy. Cf. now also Olmsted, pp. 8-10.

⁶⁶I am convinced that, though the Patriarchate's official relations with Muscovy were broken and despite the Mongol invasion and the chaotic conditions prevailing in Muscovy, there continued to be some kind of interaction, that is, unofficial connections, between Moscow and Constantinople. Monks from Byzantine Constantinople (and probably Mount Athos) went to Muscovy seeking "alms" for the Greek church and Patriarch under Turkish domination. The Patriarch seemed poverty-stricken, especially because of the huge "subsidies" he was compelled to give the Sultan: Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 201-02.

of a new patriarch, that of Moscow.⁶⁷ Further, there is good reason to believe that Maximos' writings, insisting on more correct beliefs in Orthodox theology and ecclesiastical and liturgical practice — but always in conformity with the traditional Greek usages — influenced in no small degree the ecclesiastical reforms at the Stoglav Council of 1551 and, later, those of the famous seventeenth century Russian Greekophile patriarch, Nikon. Nikon, as is well known, affirmed: "I am Russian, but my faith and religion are Greek."⁶⁸

The work of Maximos in enlightening the Russian church was viewed so favorably by subsequent generations of Russians, that among some groups in Russia he was looked upon as a saint of their church.⁶⁹ An impressive statue of Maximos was in fact erected before the most important of Russian theological schools, at Zagorsk near Moscow. And in the famous conflict of the so-called Old Believers, which erupted later in the mid-seventeenth century, between Possessors and non-Possessors of monastic land, both sides appealed for support to the writings of Maximos.⁷⁰

But Maximos' influence was not restricted to the church. One of his most famous disciples was the broadly cultured Prince Andrei Kurbsky (opposing the growing absolutism of Ivan III, he later fled to Poland), who, attracted by Maximos' teaching on Greek classical literature as well as ecclesiastical questions, wrote in effect: "It is through Maximos that we shall rediscover the lost connection with Byzantium."⁷¹

⁶⁷On the new Patriarch of Moscow, see esp. Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 330-31.

⁶⁸M. Spinka, "Patriarch Nikon and the Subjection of the Russian Church to the State," in *Readings in Russian History*, ed. S. Harcave (New York, 1962), 1, p. 236.

⁶⁹Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences*, p. 26. Also Schultze, *Maksim grek als Theologe* (Rome, 1963) and cf. Haney, p. 90.

⁷⁰Spinka, "Patriarch Nikon and the . . . Russian Church." Also see R. Crummey, *The Old Believers and the World of Anti-Christ* (Madison, 1970).

⁷¹On Kurbsky, see Denissoff, "Une biographie de Maxime le Grec par Kourbski," *Orientalia christiana periodica*, (1954), 20, pp. 44-84; and later

Kurbsky's emphasis on the pagan as well as the Christian side reminds one of the earlier Byzantine Bessarion, cardinal of the Roman church after Constantinople's fall who, in his will of 1471, bequeathed his entire library of over 600 Greek manuscripts not only to help Italian humanists in fostering study of ancient Greek literature and philosophy but also (to quote his own words) "to help my own people, the remnants of the Greeks who are in grave danger of becoming completely barbarized" [that is, under Turkish domination].⁷²

It is probably true that Maximos' influence on Russian ecclesiastical life and otherwise was less apparent during his own lifetime than it was to become after his death.⁷³ Nevertheless, one may enumerate many leaders of Maximos' own time in Russian society, the government, and the church who were recipients of his letters and responded to them, and must, thereby to some degree, have been affected by his thinking. Among such people, besides Kurbsky and his uncle, Boyar who often frequented Maximos' cell, were Metropolitan Iosaaf (who succeeded Daniel), Metropolitan Macarius (who in turn succeeded Iosaaf), Abbot Artemius (a follower of Nil Sorsky and Maximos' protector in the last phase of his life), Bishop Acacius, the monks Nil Sorsky, Vassian, Guria-Turkin and Nil Kurliatev (the latter and Kurbsky were both taught the Greek language by Maxim);⁷⁴ also members of the

J. Fennell, ed., *Prince A. M. Kurbsky's "History of Ivan IV"* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965). I. Sevcenko, believes it is remarkable that Maximos' interest in classical Greek literature had no influence on Russia at all. On Kurbsky's maternal uncle, the Boyar Basil Michailovitch Toutchkov, a great admirer of Maximos who often visited his cell, see Denissoff, "Une biographie de Maxime le Grec par Kourbski," p. 84.

⁷²On Bessarion, see D. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures* (New Haven, 1976), p. 172.

⁷³Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 327, says in 1551 Maximos' prestige was immense, but not his political influence.

⁷⁴For Maximos' influence on Kurbsky's uncle, see above n. 69; or Metropolitan Iosaaf, see Golubinskii, p. 740 and Papamichael, pp. 279-80; also cf. now Olmsted, p. 708. On Abbot Artemios, see Haney,

imperial court including the Grand Prince's close adviser Fedor Karpov, whose interest in astrology Maximos strongly argued against as being anti-Orthodox.⁷⁵

Maximos' personal piety, his teachings, and dedication to knowledge of the Orthodox Byzantine heritage, must have constituted a remarkable impetus to the thinking of many Russians. Contrary to the modern Western scholar, Mack Haney's belief that Maximos "influenced only the fringe elements of Russian society" with his writings and teachings.⁷⁶ It would appear that Maximos' impact was significant enough to create a genuine ferment in the Russian church and among some of the most important people of the more educated class of his period. Thus, especially because of the *ultimate* success of much of his work in Russia, Maximos, I believe, should be regarded as one of the greatest Orthodox reformers of the Slavic Orthodox world, perhaps second only in importance to Cyril and Methodios. Indeed, in a sense his work was even more difficult, for the brothers were teaching Orthodox tenets to a near barbaric, undeveloped people, not yet exposed to Christian teachings. Maximos, on the other hand, had to deal with the crystallized views of a people of originally correct Orthodox belief, but which had become distorted through the centuries. Confessional scholars know how difficult it is to alter religious

pp. 87-88; on Bishop Akakios, see Haney, p. 85; on Nil Sorsky, see I. Smolitsch, *Russische Monchtum* (1953), pp. 153-59, vol. 30 (1954); Papamichael, p. 85; and Haney, pp. 40-44, 118. For Maximos' influence on Vassian, see Obolensky, pp. 145-55; on Guria-Turkin, see Papamichael, p. 84; on Nil Kurliatev (and his learning Greek from Maximos), see Haney, p. 87, Papamichael, p. 380, Olmsted, p. 8.

⁷⁵On Fedor Karpov and Maximos' attack on astrology, see Papamichael, esp. pp. 115-26 and Haney, pp. 154-70.

⁷⁶Haney, p. 183: "Maximos had only a marginal influence on most of his contemporaries; and he was unable to stem the tide of Josephianism which became the arbiter of Russian culture until well into the eighteenth century." (The latter half of the statement is correct.) Also Obolensky, p. 159: "It remains true that Maximos' influence in Russia was always very limited."

views and practices, especially of ritual, once they have become strongly ingrained in a people's mentality.

To the charge of Klostermann that Maximos, one of many learned Greek scholars who emigrated to Italy, became important only because he happened to come to Russia at this time.⁷⁷ One may answer that it would be very difficult among all these emigre intellectuals, even for individuals possessing Maximos' intellectual and theological abilities, not to mention the remarkable persistence of his endeavors, under extremely difficult circumstances, to promote the reforms he believed were needed in Russia.

To conclude, I think it is not too much to affirm that Maximos was the leading spiritual and cultural influence on the Russian church and people in the critical period of the sixteenth century, a time when Russia was just beginning to emerge from its own Dark Age. It was his work more than that of anyone else that led, later, to the restoration of the canonical tie between Moscow and the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople.⁷⁸ It is fitting, therefore, on this occasion celebrating the millenium of the conversion of Russia by the Byzantine patriarchate, that one recall the work of reforming, one might almost say of "restoring" Orthodoxy in Russia of the monk Maximos "the Greek" from Mt. Athos, whose life and achievements have recently become more widely studied in Russia, but still only too little in the West and in Greece, except for the remarkable but neglected pioneer work of Papamichael.

⁷⁷R. Klosterman, "Legende und Wirklichkeit im Lebenswerk von Maxim Grek," *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 24 (1958) 353-70.

⁷⁸Later Arsenios Sukhanov came from Moscow to Constantinople. But his visit did not make relations between the patriarch and Muscovy any closer or warmer. To be added to a bibliography on Maximos is B. Fonkikh, "Novyi Avtograf Maksima Greca," *Byzantinoslavica*, (1969) 30, pp. 72-82.

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The Religious Roots of American Democracy

CONSTANTINE TSATSOS

IT IS OFTEN SAID THAT THE SECRET OF THE POWER OF THE United States is its wealth, wealth due to the fact that the country produces most of the raw materials needed for its industries and all the agricultural products required for the well-being of its people. This is a partial judgment. If the colonists who settled on the shores of North America had happened to settle in South America, and the Spaniards who landed in the South had planted themselves instead on the shores of North America, all the raw materials that North America has at its disposal would not have created the power represented by the United States today. On the contrary, if men like the Pilgrim Fathers had settled in South America, there might have blossomed below the equator a power much greater than that of all the present democracies and dictatorships of South and Central America put together. In addition to the wealth of the earth, there is another kind of wealth involved in the formation of the United States.

The ingenious and intensive exploitation of material wealth is the result of a motive that nests in the psychic and biological structure of the American of the United States.

We must not start to study the results without having considered the motives. Otherwise, our opinion is superficial and not sufficiently penetrating. If we are to understand the secret power of the United States, we must first examine the inner quality of the soul of the American who put his stamp

on the life of his country. Then we shall better understand why he organized his state and his community as he did, why he succeeded in certain enterprises, why he did not thrive in others, why he so resembles and so differs from his European brothers. Beginning with the simplest elements of the American psyche, we must try little by little to reconstruct his life, his brief history. This may be a less attractive approach than would be a narration of travellers' impressions, but it is more instructive and more helpful for those who wish to go deeply into the meaning of the great American democracy.

The chief reason for the conquest of South and Central America was gold; the chief reason for the conquest of North America, known then only for its inhospitable shores, was escape from religious persecution. At the beginning of the life of the United States stands the religious theme. What was first in terms of time turns out to be first also in significance for the life of this land. Therefore, as we try to construct the American psyche in some logical order, we must begin with religion.

Anyone who does not understand how significant a place religion occupies in American life has not gone below the surface. Anyone who does not understand the kind of religion that determines American life is in danger of misinterpreting it in its many manifestations. Perseverance in the study of the religious element in life is rewarding, even though it seems to take us far away from what we are in a hurry to learn about America.

Serious studies maintain that if America had been dominated by the spirit of Luther rather than by that of Calvin, its psychic character would now be quite different. There is much truth in this, but in order to understand it, we must go back to the time when the *Mayflower* sailed to a lonely and unknown shore of New England, bearing the Pilgrim Fathers who had suffered persecution. The year is 1620.

It was a period when, within a world closed and disciplines largely controlled for a thousand years by the Roman Catholic Church, there were appearing, one after another, centrifugal, disjunctive tendencies. Among these tendencies were two which flourished, took root, and continue to maintain great

influence today. The one was launched by Luther, chiefly in the German world. The other was launched by Calvin in Western Europe and in Great Britain. The two forces had certain beliefs in common. They denied the need for an organic unity in the Church and they abolished it. They established ecclesiastical organizations of local jurisdiction only, and claimed that this was the manner in which the first Christian churches were administered. The Church ceased to be a necessary link to man's communication with God; only the absolutely personal communication of man with God can exist. These are the chief characteristics of Protestant belief, despite denominational allegiance. From there on developed differentiations, divisions, and subdivisions of sects which peaked in America. In the United States today, more than two hundred and fifty Protestant sects exist.

Within this chaos, however, there remains a basic difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism. For our purposes we need not labor over the dogmatic differences. It is enough to say that the Calvinists depart more boldly from the dogma of the Catholic Church. We must, however, stress their differences as they confront worldly affairs, that is man's life in society. Luther left to Caesar that which was Caesar's. He accepted submission to the secular political power, focusing rather on man's inner world and as theoretical a view of life as was possible. The whole Germanic civilization carries the seal of this direction, imposed by the great reformer of Wittenburg. Calvin, on the contrary, refused to leave to Caesar the leadership of the mundane life. He wanted rather to adjust it to the teachings of the Gospel. Thus, in contrast to Luther, he turned his followers toward deeds and action. For Calvin, every true Christian is a missionary, responsible for his life and for the life of the society in which he lives in accordance with rules set forth in the gospels. In Geneva, Calvin established a kind of theocratic state in agreement with gospel teaching. This vigorous practical spirit was transmitted to all the Calvinist sects in North America belonged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This same spirit continues to be passed on to the Calvinist groups today. That

is why Calvinist psychology has placed so deep a stamp on American life.

Of the 240,000,000 Americans, more than two-thirds are Protestants, and nine-tenths of those are Calvinists in spirit. Thus, we see that Calvinist psychology prevailed in the beginning and that this sovereignty continues today.

All the Germans and certain Scandinavian settlers were Lutherans, but most of them went to America later when the psychic structure and the social composition of the American world had already crystallized. Therefore, their influence was not significant, and their numbers have not exceeded nine million.

The Catholics arrived even later. Today, thanks to their discipline and their concentration in the big cities, they exercise an important influence, both politically and socially. I do not feel, however, that it penetrates the psychic depth of the American citizen. The Catholic Church has about thirty-one million members. The number of Protestants is only fifty-four million, but this includes only those enrolled as active members of the Protestant churches, whereas the Catholic figure includes all those baptized as Catholics.

The great mass of Protestants, and particularly of Calvinists, has one great weakness, that is, its fragmentation into many sects and many separate churches. This evil is rooted in the basic Protestant dogma that every Christian, enlightened by divine grace, forms his own relation to God personally. The inflexible dogmatic frames of Catholic theology are repudiated and are replaced by a strong subjectivism, by the freedom and uniqueness of every personality. This naturally leads to the development of initiative in individuals since every man, whether inspired by divine grace or guided by his personal interpretation of the Bible, determines in his own way his relation to God and the forms of his worship. The fragmentation of the Calvinists is the price that is paid for a thoroughgoing religious freedom. As freedom became greater, fragmentation increased. And it happened thus in America. It is not to be thought that these many sects are of equal influence. Most of them are numerically insignificant, and

many of them have constituencies of very low economic level. The significant denominations that merit study are few: the Baptists, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists. We must also take note of the Episcopalians, extending our range so as to include them among the evangelical churches. Actually the Episcopalians are simply Americans who follow the dogma of the Anglican Church. The Baptists and the Methodists, both of which are greatly subdivided, are the largest denominations in the American world.

Religion Without Metaphysics

Early in 1954, American newspapers published the following radio speech by President Eisenhower:

In hours of crisis and trial, we have instinctively turned to God to receive from him new courage and peace of soul. All American history testifies to this truth. By faith in God and faith in themselves, our forefathers planned and built this democracy.

In school we learned that on that little ship of destiny called the *Mayflower*, the first Pilgrim Fathers conceived the idea of self-government. Their immortal agreement, the *Mayflower Compact*, began with the words, "In the name of God, Amen." We remember how the Father of Our Country knelt at Valley Forge and asked for divine enlightenment in the cold darkness of a severe winter. Washington thus found the strength to lead to freedom a nation animated by the conviction that every one of us is endowed by God with inalienable human rights.

We remember again how three-quarters of a century later, on the bloody battlefield of Gettysburg, in the quiet after long nights of warfare, Abraham Lincoln well understood that only under God's protection could this nation arrive at the rebirth of its freedom.

Finally, we remember that ten years ago, on the transport *Dorchester*, four clerical men of four different faiths voluntarily sacrificed their lives to save four other human beings.

In the three centuries which separate the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower* from the clergy on the *Dorchester*, America's freedom, its courage, its power, and its progress have been founded on its faith.

Today, as then, positive actions are required by which we shall renew our confession that this faith is our greatest, our surest source of strength.

Whatever our church, whatever our religion, our common belief in God constitutes the common bond between us. We are all one in our basic faith. All together we thank the Power that created and preserved our nation. By millions we pray and we praise, saying — and it does not matter what words we use, the spirit is the same — “In God we trust.”

I quote these words of Eisenhower because they express a spirit which permeates the American people and always becomes more apparent at the great turning points in its history. Reference to God in official speeches is more frequent in America than it is in the European countries. And this is neither hypocrisy nor empty form. It corresponds to a substantial element in the American soul. It is difficult to state precisely the content of America's religious conviction. I confess that for me, religion is clearly a metaphysical subject, and I cannot conceive religion without metaphysics. For the American, the emphasis of religion has moved from metaphysics to ethics. Calvinism certainly has at its disposal heavy metaphysical weapons, but the American ignores these and turns toward the ethical sector. The exercise of Christian virtue is the focal point of his religious concern.

Calvinism, with its basic dogmas, incites man to action.

This is the road the American took. Consequently, instead of breeding ascetics, metaphysicians, and monks who forsake the life of the world, they bred missionaries and preachers who fought in the midst of society to implement the moral principles of the gospels. No other country has produced so many missionaries as has America, and the reason is obvious.

In America, there is small interest in doctrine. For most people, it does not exist. Let me illustrate this. A number of Americans of a high educational level sought to counteract the fragmentation of the Protestant church and, to that end, they created the Unitarian Church. This church aimed to put aside doctrinal differences — hence it rejected the Trinity in favor of the concept of God in one person — in the hope of receiving into its arms believers from all the Protestant sects. The effort has not been notably successful, but this is due not to doctrinal objections but to the exceptional energy of the other churches.

This differentiation among the dissenting sects makes the organization of Protestant worship the most expensive activity in the world. In a little town which could be served by one church, you find three and four churches, and sometimes more, the Baptist, the Methodist, and often churches of the smaller denominations as well. However, in a small town where the church of a particular denomination does not exist because of a lack of sufficient membership, a Christian goes to the church of another denomination without any problem of conscience. Often the leap from one sect to another is simply a matter of accessibility, even convenience, and it shows how unimportant the American considers metaphysical and doctrinal matters.

A religion which does not present a dogmatically defined metaphysical framework, is combined with a strong subjectivism, and gives each individual the freedom to determine the form and content of his relation to God leads not only to fragmentation but to a decline in the level of spirituality. There are many small sects in America in which this is true. A prime example is the fanatical sect of the Mormons,

founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith. In 1827, he had been divinely led to the discovery of the *Book of the Prophet Mormon*. This scripture described the creation of man in such a way as to explain also the lineage of the first inhabitants of America, all within a biblical framework. He had found this prophetic book in a field near the town where he lived, and because he could read it, though it was written in an unknown language, he became the high priest of this new religion. The writing was in gold characters. No sooner had he read the book and dictated its interpretation to his two assistants than the document was taken up into the sky and no one else ever saw it. Joseph Smith had a gift for organization, and the Mormon sect succeeded so well that it provoked the enmity of other sects. Persecution of the Mormons lasted almost until our time. In spite of opposition, the denomination numbers more than a million believers. It has churches in all parts of the United States, has a large university of good academic standing, and has contributed important figures to the political life of the nation. This is a remarkable history for a group which, at its lowest spiritual level less than a hundred years ago, countenanced polygamy.

Christian Science is another sect which illustrates what I wish to emphasize. It was founded in 1875 by Mary Baker Eddy in Boston. Starting with its assertion of the spiritual nature of man, it arrives at the belief that physical illness must be treated and can be cured only by faith and prayer. For Christian Scientists, the denial of the power of the corporeal, and the affirmation of life in harmony with God's word solve all of man's problems. Their belief mixes the highest truths with misleading simplifications and a surprising, even dangerous, naivete. They publish no statistics on membership but are assumed to be in excess of a million believers, dedicated believers who support their church with ample funds. The Church of Christ, Scientist, as it is officially called, has a luxurious establishment in Boston and many churches throughout the country and abroad. It also runs a huge publishing complex that publishes not only the writings of Mary

Baker Eddy and her colleagues, but also a daily newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*. It is one of the three or four leading dailies in the United States. This shows how mixed the quality of these independent sects is and also demonstrates that naivete of dogma does not preclude a serious and socially beneficial activity, such as the publication of a prestigious newspaper.

I could refer to other sects with even more surprising characteristics, sects with women bishops, sects where religious piety is hardly distinguishable from pathological hysteria, but I do not wish to just be a storyteller. In my analysis of religious developments in America, I have noted: the freedom of worship as you wish, according to the divine enlightenment you have privately received; a strong religious subjectivism and individualism; and the absence of a formulated metaphysical dogma. It is sufficient to understand that these characteristics are fraught with serious dangers.

Puritan Morality as the School of Democracy

To counterbalance these dangers, the Americans turned to social action. As little as the content of American religion is metaphysical and theoretical, so much the more is it ethical and practical. The moral and political virtues of the American spring from his embracement of Calvinist belief.

Under religious persecution in their native land, the American colonists of the seventeenth century decided that the greatest of all blessings would be the freedom to determine their own worship. For this they had dared the terrible trans-Atlantic voyage, and having arrived safely, they wanted to preserve the great benefit they had won. But the concept of freedom of religion was bound to the more general concept of freedom of conscience, freedom of thought. So they arrived at the conclusion that man is a free personality who recognizes only one as higher than himself, namely, God. From this narrow circle of religion, freedom of personality spreads to all aspects of life. The practice of vigorous individualism in every circumstance actually sprouted in the religious world, but it most notably placed its stamp on American

society in general in the economic and political life.

This does not mean that only good resulted from the religious fervor of the first settlers. These men wanted not only to worship freely themselves, but they wanted others to worship as they did. Along with freedom, intolerance also developed. The struggle between freedom and bigotry began in the first years of American history when many of the first settlers had to leave Massachusetts and go to the uninhabited area of Rhode Island. This struggle has continued to our times, passing through many phases. Along with freedom came some particular needs, the first of which was the need to increase in number as much as possible. We must also consider the way of life of the settlers. Many of them, penetrating into the unknown land, spread themselves into sparse settlements where the discussion of religious subjects was impossible. Dispersed as they were, they had to be ready to unite at a moment's notice to fight the Indians or the natural elements. In these pioneering agrarian populations, there appeared, little by little, sects with very simple dogma which did not leave them open to expressions of intolerance. The reactionary elements remained concentrated in the large cities on the east coast, but there, too, as the eighteenth century was coming to an end, the new constitutional order grew stronger. New ideas took root; bigotry began to retreat and disappear, but, it must be said, not so quickly as in Europe. Only in 1930, under the New Deal, did the spirit of absolute religious liberty truly prevail. As late as the beginning of our century, the United States saw sporadic manifestations of intolerance inconceivable in Europe at that time. There was the famous organization, the Ku Klux Klan, whose purpose was primarily to strike at the blacks, but also at Catholics and Jews. There was the Scopes trial in Tennessee. In 1925, that state had voted a law preventing the study of any theory not in agreement with the Old Testament version of the origin of man. The exposition of the Darwinian theory by a teacher of biology named Scopes was a violation of this law. The trial gripped America for weeks. The greatest lawyers in America undertook the professor's defense. More significant

is the fact that the prosecuting attorney was William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State under Wilson, and an important political figure for many years. Scopes was condemned, but not penalized. His trial called forth such reaction across the country that the matter was never raised again, either in Tennessee or in any other state.

In the final quarter of the twentieth century, the events mentioned above must be considered the exception which tests the rule. For the rule is the projection of individualism and the exercise of individual freedom. The tolerance of Catholicism as a minority religion, the force of the new ideas that entered America with Roosevelt's New Deal, the dynamic rise in the level of education — all these indicate that the battle between Puritan intolerance and respect for freedom of conscience had been decided. Obviously, the decision was for freedom.

In the sixteenth century, King Henry VIII, dissenting from the Pope, created the Anglican Church. With it, however, was created a new order of dissenters. These "dissenters" from the dissenters," as the statesman-philosopher Burke called them, recognized in themselves the necessary justification of dissent. It was the logical conclusion of their position. But even in the bosom of these new dissenters certain disagreements were certain to be born. A strong subjectivism had penetrated the sphere of religion, and endless disagreements led to the rise of more and more new sects. As reactions to the extreme intolerance of the Puritans, the heretical sects multiplied in America as in no other country in the world. This evil of religious fragmentation was the clearest proof that, in the American climate, the will of every individual to worship as he believes best is stronger than any hindrance. For this reason, I believe that the idea of freedom, in spite of all the opposing tendencies, was rooted in Calvinism. Religion was the great school of freedom for the American.

The American also learned another active virtue from religion.

The one hundred and two immigrants aboard the *Mayflower*, and others both before and after who landed on the deserted coasts of America, were all poor and at the mercy

of the unknown forces which surrounded them. They had left their feudal European hierarchies behind them. United in God, they were a community of equal brothers who had to rally together and cooperate to confront the dangers threatening them at every moment. The democratic equality of the members of such a religious community was inherent in their religion. This is where the American was taught and where he put into practice for the first time the principle of political equality. In the communal organization of the church, he learned for the first time to discuss and, in discussion, to respect the other man's opinion, the disagreement of the minority as well as the decision of the majority. Furthermore, after discussion and decision, he learned to implement the decision by group action. What he did in the beginning in his church community he extended later to his polity.

In recent years in Greece we have sometimes been surprised by the inclination of Americans to call meetings, to deliberate at every turn of the page. In America, I came to understand the source of this propensity which is really one of the characteristics of political procedure there. And perhaps the Americans are not wrong insofar as they have found a way of supporting group action, for however much the National Socialists fight it, group action is the natural expression of every truly democratic regime.

In the more serious and more numerous sects, the service of worship is stripped of every showy element and also of almost every distinguishing characteristic. From the costume of the clergy to the decoration of the church, from the words of the sermon to the actions of the minister inside his church, all is very simple. There is nothing superfluous. This simplicity prevails also in many Protestant churches in Europe, but there are other sources to provide some formal and ritualistic elements. For many decades in America, there was nothing but the church and, along with the democratic quality of the content, the church established the democratic quality of the forms.

This suited those who were moving toward the inner parts of the continent, settling far away and often at a great distance

from the other. For the pioneers, as they are called, life included no hierarchies, no forms. Therefore, the leading sects were those with the simplest dogma and the most frugal organization, especially the Baptists and the Methodists. The Baptists were congregationally governed. The Methodists, as indicated by their full name, the Methodist Episcopal Church, had a body of bishops, but it operated much more simply than the corresponding Anglican body. Frugality and informality pervaded most American churches and spread to the whole social life. In *Main Street*, Sinclair Lewis describes the life of the inhabitants of a small town in the Midwest where the diversions of the modern world were slow to arrive: "The railroad train was their romance, the only mystery except for the liturgy of the Catholic Church." Perhaps that church owes some of its growth to the appeal of that ritualistic element.

This sporadic longing for ritual confirms the rule. The Protestant's bare, unadorned house of prayer has brought about an absence of ceremony in the manners of the American, which are *sans façon* and off-hand. In recent years, he tries from time to time to modify this pattern of conduct, perhaps rather clumsily. The Russian does likewise. Meanwhile, the European, even more clumsily, seeks to imitate the American. Let me illustrate this absence of formality in American religious life by describing my experience at a church service with middle-class Americans.

An American friend, a man with a classical education, invited me during my stay in Washington, to spend the weekend with his family and, as he put it, share the grace of their Sunday church service.

He lived in a sparsely settled woodland area. Shortly before ten, an automobile from every driveway emerged, carrying the entire family to the community church. The building stood on a hill which had been stripped of trees, and most of the parishioners could see the belfry from their homes.

The service began at eleven, but at ten there were lessons in catechism, called the Sunday School. The smaller children had their classes in a set of rooms on the ground level which were very clean, orderly, well-appointed, and well-heated. A

group of young people, who for various reasons had dropped out of high school, met separately in the minister's home. My host took me there because he was the teacher of this special class. He explained that the teaching would be related to the portion of the Gospel that would be read during the service.

This church and Sunday School belonged to the Methodist denomination but seemed not at all concerned with dogmatic differences from other Protestant churches. It is the rivalry in the area of social action, rather than differences in belief, that interests the members because that is how their capability as a church is measured.

The class began with a simple prayer, followed by the reading of the section of the Gospel to be heard later in the service of worship. Certain students then read aloud from a pamphlet given to them the previous week to provide notes of interpretation. Next came discussion in which I, too, took part. Although I found it somewhat naive, I was impressed by the seriousness of the young people. I do not know exactly how it was managed, but every person had the opportunity to refer to his personal problem: the difficulty of finding work, the adjustments to new work undertaken, illness in the home. Their seriousness did not at all preclude laughter and jokes, and there was a complete lack of social etiquette. The American, I came to understand, does not express his respect and esteem in fixed phrases or formal attitudes. The "decorum" of European civilization has all but disappeared. For the American, respect and esteem are inner realities. My observations during that hour in the Sunday School were later confirmed whenever I saw students with their professors or citizens with their political leaders.

After the class, we went to the church to worship. It was a long narrow hall, freshly painted and, like the Sunday School rooms, spotlessly clean and well-heated. I need not describe the order of service, nor will I emphasize the lack of the inspirational element. The sermon is the main, the indispensable part of the service, and it curiously combines the religious with the practical spirit of the American. The preacher moves easily from the most lofty themes to more pedestrian

ones related to the social action of his parishioners. At one point, without preliminaries, the minister announced that today a stranger from Greece was in their midst. He made conventional remarks in my favor and asked me to rise from my seat so that all could see me. I confess that this unexpected episode did not please me. Later, when the service ended and various people came to greet me, I saw it somewhat differently. They asked me about my country, and I realized that this sort of introduction, so strange from my point of view, was not an empty form for the Americans. It came from a largeness of soul and a special kind of civility. I was asked to come again the following Sunday. Being in church together seemed to have created a bond, something we had in common. But I felt something else even more deeply. There are communities in the world whose members are depressed by poverty, by the fight for daily bread, where the survival of some requires others to go hungry. And there are prosperous communities like the one I was visiting. When citizens are able to enjoy ease of spirit and to feel a margin of concern, if not actual love, for other men, their dealings with others are enriched, and their kindnesses, instead of being mere forms to conceal the ugliness of the truth, become substantial, humane, and moral.

All the characteristics revealed in the above experience were nourished in the bosom of the Protestant churches along with the idea of personal freedom, equality, group effort and community action, and, even more, with the demand for frugality and simplicity in every social manifestation. Fostered by religious teaching, these qualities also penetrated the political sphere and became the firm support of democratic thinking and democratic institutions. At the core of the religious communities of the seventeenth century were ideas which crystallized one hundred and fifty years later in the American Constitution. Naturally, both the spirit of the Enlightenment and British tradition exercised an influence on individual liberties.

It should now be evident that the initial religion in America, a religion characterized by Emerson in 1838 as "not metaphysical, but ethicological," set as its chief aim the

endowment of the American with these principles: a conception of the individual and of his relation to the community, a value system both practical and ethical and, in general, a well-defined morality. This Calvinistic and sometimes Puritanical provenance of the American moral world had profound consequences, good and bad.

It is widely said that the Puritan mentality was oppressive and gloomy. Hatred for every worldly enjoyment, contempt for every material beauty, ceaseless preoccupation with holy writ and death, all created, in the absence of any flexibility, an atmosphere of unrelieved woe. In England, this tendency was balanced by the Elizabethan Renaissance but in America, there was no such counter-balance, nor could there be in that still wild and deserted and unexplainable land. There, on the contrary, it was fanaticisms that became powerful, that took over the souls of the first settlers and were formed into social institutions.

All communities are influenced by religious factors, but in most of them other equally powerful factors converge. But in the American colony these equalizing forces were fewer and weaker. For this reason, the religionist occupied a position of command.

The inflexible Puritanism of the first years guided and educated the American colonist. The original families had taken the hard decision to cross the ocean. After escaping from the abyss of the Atlantic and the illnesses of the long journey, they reached an uninhabited land, a virgin land, unexplored, uncultivated, without name, without position on the maps. For this and for what would follow, over and above religious zeal they needed decisiveness, iron will, aggressiveness, and severity with themselves as individuals and with their associates. From the first board of the first hut, everything had to start from the beginning. There were no craftsmen, no doctors. But there were tools to be made and children to be born. Whatever they needed from Europe, they had to wait a year or more. Out of patience and persistence, there developed an ascetic style of life. In all these trials of body and character, the main source of support for the colonist was the Puritan education. This Puritan education was

inspired by a God, not the gentle God of the gospels but by the harsh God, Jehovah, of the Old Testament. It created harsh, unbending, and aggressive characters, who did not laugh and were constantly haunted by visions of hell waiting to swallow up all who did not sacrifice every joy of life and who did not devote all their vitality to the daily toil. In later years, the vision of hell faded and the asceticism of the early settlers was modified, but the combativeness, the tendency to toughness, the strength of will, the vigor and the force of character — these remained forever in the American. The pioneers, or trail-blazers as they are called, were direct descendants of the members of the Plymouth Colony. Within two hundred and fifty years, they had conquered the American continent inch by inch, always pushing westward in the face of indescribable difficulties, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Vancouver. A majority of those who fought in the jungles of New Guinea and the Philippines were descendants and co-religionists of the early settlers in New England.

To be sure, there is another factor which has made Americans tough and strong, that is, the toughness and the strength of the nature that they had to tame. But this is a secondary factor. First comes the force that enabled them to confront and to master this nature. That inner factor was certainly the Puritan ethic.

Religion and Capitalism

America is a new world made by old men. That is why it has a dual, a mixed nature. It is a continuation of the European world and a renovation of that world. As they crossed the ocean, the first British colonists cast aside feudal hierarchies, old etiquette, and various intellectual interests. From their past they deposited on the American shore one thing only; they brought with them one book which constituted their entire spiritual and intellectual nourishment, the Holy Scriptures. Later to this was added *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan. It, too, is a religious work which, we are told, after the Bible itself is still the most read book in the Anglo-Saxon world until today. Thus, except in the theological sphere, the first

American colonists had no interest except the work of their hands: the cultivation of the virgin soil, the cutting down of forests, fishing, the hunting of wild animals for their precious furs. With a touch of cynicism, some contemporary Americans say that "the Bible and cod-fish saved New England," that barren Northeastern coastal zone of America, but the zone that must be considered the cradle of the United States. Puritan fanaticism aided by distance separated the colonists from the intellectual progress of the world where Corneille and Racine were presenting their works, where Shakespeare's brilliant achievement was followed by the shining writings of Ben Johnson, John Donne, Bacon, and later, Dryden. All these were lost in the infinity of the ocean and the untrod forests, but also in the Puritan's denial of every worldly, aesthetic, and un-biblical element.

Thus, outside the church, only one thing remained to the early settlers, that is, their occupations, the work of providing a living. This work, for the most part, was manual. Work became the first, the chief, virtue because it served the social whole and, according to Calvinist dogma, such action constituted the primary Christian duty. The occupation itself became virtue. Monastic solitude and the pure vision of metaphysical ecstasy were not virtues. Virtue was labor, productive occupation, and social service.

Certainly in the beginning, labor and the trades were thought to be virtuous because of the fruits they produced. Later, labor and the trades were considered to be virtuous irrespective of their fruits. Unintentionally, and without being aware of it, the American began to worship activity and energy for its own sake. Little by little, they went further and began to admire whatever the product of the activity might be. As a result of this psychological transfer, which is easy to understand, the idea of the social usefulness of the occupation began to diminish and "the mystique of success" began to spread (the term is from Siegfried, the French scholar on America). Aided by the strong individualism which Calvinism had instilled, it was not psychologically difficult to justify the work that benefited certain persons, and eventually

the work which benefited only one person, instead of justifying only the work that benefited all. And, it was not difficult to justify the work that benefited all when it was of such nature that it did not injure others. Whom did the farmer harm when he took over a piece of the jungle and turned it into a field, or the fisherman when he chased the cod through icy seas, or the hunter when he killed foxes? They harmed no one. On the contrary, they were doing good. Their work was good, and their reward was good. Furthermore, because for many decades the rewards were of that kind, profit for its own sake was good. It was virtue. It was, as they said, "for the greater glory of God," (*ad maiorem gloriam Dei*). Later, the time came when the God-given profit of the one harmed someone else. But so firmly rooted was the idea of work and reward, the one for the other, that no one took notice of the shift that had taken place, and even profit at the expense of another was construed as good and proper. Thus, profit-making found support in the moral world of America.

This did not come about ruthlessly and drastically, but my simplification shows the prevailing current, the starting force of a fateful psychological development. In achieving its full power, it was decisively aided by another factor which I have already noted and the importance of which I wish now to confirm. The strong subjectivity of the Protestant religion and the prominence of individuality in its relation to the divine inevitably exalt individualism in all aspects of life. The absolute value of the individual is not limited to the religious sphere but exists in social and economic life as well. Fruitful occupations contribute to the glory of God. They are the bearers of the virtue of industry, of the good that is called production and is also called profit. As the individual must be free in the religious sphere, so he must be free in the social and economic spheres. He must be free not only to follow his calling but to earn from it freely and without limitations. So individual profit and all that it involves is good. Furthermore, a very great good, indeed, is private property.

Property is an extension of man's freedom. It is the fruit of his labor. When he opens a road through a virgin forest

and makes a field, why should the field not belong to him? Most of the property of the first settlers was that sort of property. It was created in the prototypal manner, as the lawyers say. Therefore, the idea that property is a divine gift, born of work and virtue, should trouble no one. Nor should the free disposition of property surprise anyone since it presents no contradiction of gospel teaching. Not only in life, but also after death, property is at the free disposal of the all-powerful individual. It is a value, indeed a Christian value, proceeding from that sacred family institution, inheritance.

Moreover, we must not forget that all this psychological development took place in the souls of men self-exiled from their homeland, first of all, in the hope of rescuing their individuality in the sphere of religion, but, secondly, in the hope of achieving the occupational freedom which their mother country did not give them. Occupational freedom is economic freedom, freedom to own, dispose, use, even misuse one's property, both in life and after death. The indisputable, sanctified rights of every individual were benefits obviously accepted in the new country.

As long as the individual's acquisitions derived only from the inexhaustible wealth of the earth and the sea, these sacred and unconditional rights were not called into question. The anomaly became apparent when property, economic freedom, and inheritance maintained the same sanctity and absolute value, and when all these legal rules of the economic life, in their generality, began to cover and protect as goods both the property created by speculation in whole or in part and the economic freedom or inheritance which had exactly the same source.

This shift came about in America more completely and more easily because it happened at a very slow pace. For nearly one hundred and fifty years, America did not consider it unethical to produce property through the class privilege of speculation. There was time for the concept to take form and become deeply rooted in the American psyche. When, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the product of speculation at the expense of one's neighbor developed, the

concept was so positive within the American that the alteration in the actual facts did not trouble him. That is why every profit, every property, every unfairness resulting from free enterprise was not contrary to virtue and the Christian ethic but almost a natural consequence of enduring principles.

Following this fateful psychological progress discussed above, which had its source in the practical idealism of Calvinism, there came a point where Christianity and capitalism were harmonized in the American conscience.

This unique psychological attitude constitutes one of the reasons why, in the United States, it was never possible to mount such socialist movements as all the European countries have. Scholarly students of the American mentality are puzzled by this combination, strange to us, of intense individualism, unlimited private property, and free enterprise with the principles of Christian morality. Siegfried formulated his perplexity in his definition of America as a "place where the rich man is a Christian, and where no theory prevents the Christian from being rich." Elsewhere he says that in America, "there is a successful blending of religion and practice that christianizes practice and makes Christianity practical."

I have been trying to explain the logical contradiction between Christianity and capitalism and how it is reconciled psychologically in the soul of the average American. This solution, not logical but psychological, casts light on one of the most fundamental problems in American history.

But in history there are no absolutes and we shall misinterpret the reality if we place the sole responsibility for the vigor of the capitalistic spirit on the churches. It is true that certain capitalistic principles, in spreading beyond their proper limit, helped to form and consolidate the idea of private property, of free enterprise, and, finally, of capitalism. This does not mean, however, that the churches consciously and purposefully sought to serve this development. Parallel to the ruthless capitalism that flourished from 1870 to 1930, men of the church and men of the spirit marched on their own road. I could recall a number of events to support my statement, but I limit myself to two. In 1932 at a conference where

all the great Protestant churches were represented, the churches adopted a Social Credo. The text of that credo set forth demands for social reform which every Socialist party in Europe would find satisfactory. A few years later, in 1938, the Catholic Church, in order not to lag behind, organized the National Catholic Conference on Social Welfare. This body announced principles equal in social daring to those of the Protestants. And the reader must understand that these conferences were not occasions for deceiving the world, for making pronouncements for the benefit of the media, for keeping up appearances, or thwarting a particular social demonstration. They have depth and consequences.

In spite of all the claims to the contrary, religion in America is a true and powerful living reality, a possible and even probable source of movements whose extent no one can foresee.

Certainly, there is no more Christian virtue in America than there is in the free countries of Europe. In some areas of social life, it is on a higher level, in others, on the same level, in still others, on a lower level. But we cannot doubt its extraordinary influence on the mold of social life.

Over the years, this influence has fluctuated. It increased in the middle of the eighteenth century with the development of Methodism. Later, after the Civil War, there was another surge of influence as a reaction to the loosening of morals due to the war as well as to the rapid economic development of the country and the beginning of intemperate speculation. The rekindling of religious conviction in those years owed most to the more popular denominations, the Methodist and the Baptist. Because of the composition of their membership and the social position of most of their adherents, these two sects were closer to the poor and dispossessed and did not easily ally themselves with the bearers of capitalistic ideas. Through these pioneering denominations, the American churches frequently opposed the capitalistic spirit which, as I have explained, was propped and braced by its misinterpretation of certain Calvinistic positions.

It would be a great mistake to imagine the American churches submitting to the anti-Christian, materialistic, and

capitalistic spirit. The psychological study of the foundation of American capitalism is one thing, the position of religion quite another. In America, religion continues to be a great moral force, greater than in Europe. In America, the life of the mind does not have the deep roots and the broad scope which it has in the great European countries. There is no long intellectual tradition and the memory of history is limited to two centuries. But religion was the oldest intellectual-spiritual good which the American possessed; out of all he could have brought from his native land, only religion was with him as he stepped onto the new land. It would therefore occupy a commanding position in his new world, and naturally so.

Many religious manifestations in America, appearing as combined with a thirst for wealth, give the impression of unacceptable hypocrisy. Certainly an element of hypocrisy is sometimes present, but it would be superficial of us to stop there. As Laroskouphe says, hypocrisy is evil's respect for good. The fact that the American feels obliged to persist in this manifestation in such a variety of circumstances indicates that religion is important in his scale of values. The prayers with which the meetings of legislative bodies begin are a response to some vague inner claim. For the American people, the prayer with which Eisenhower inaugurated his presidency was not a string of empty words. The gifts of millions of dollars to missionary work and to the works of Christian solidarity are not just hypocritical gestures to dispel public jealousy. In the confused psychology of the donors, along with other contradictions, there is a sense of duty and piety. And these donors, wish it or not, are part of a totality that believes in these principles.

We must swallow these curious contingencies of religious feeling and materialism if we hope to reach any understanding of American religiosity. We must accept what may seem to us paradoxical, and, above all, we must look below the surface.

During my stay in America, there came to my hands a weekly leaflet put out by a Methodist church in a city in the

Midwest. Together with the announcement of the church's program, I read the following: "11 a.m. Morning Worship — Dr. _____ will speak on the subject: *The Seed We Have Planted*. Don't forget that there is ample space for your car in our new parking lot. Tell your friends now many benefits there are in going to church at Holy Trinity and invite them to come." One cannot avoid the impression that the benefits belong equally to the parking of the car and the saving of the soul.

Another announcement reads: "We have opened up space for the parking of cars. Come and drive in, cross the street, and enter the church. No effort, no worry, no concern about where you will park your car. We have room for one hundred and twenty-five automobiles. Fill up the lot and, thus, we shall fill Holy Trinity Church with happy and hopeful children of God."

Together with the lists of the Psalms to be sung during the service, they publish the names of those who collect the offering and make a plea for additional collectors, ending with the admonition: "All this is for the glory of God, a duty of honor performed by the members of our Holy Trinity Church."

The mixture of holy things with the parking of cars and collecting of dollars, the abolition of levels in the scale of values, and the combination of worship with practical convenience, all seem very strange to us. In the end, we must go beyond them and we must try to understand them in the light of their psychological origin, if we are to seriously study and evaluate them. In America, religion has basic significance. Its influence is decisive, and unless we understand this, knowledge of America is almost impossible.

Translated by Jean Demos

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The Role of the Theologian in Today's Church. By Monika K. Fellwig. Kansas City, MO. Sheed and Ward, 1987. Pp. 44. Paper.

The present booklet presents the presidential address given at the annual convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America in Philadelphia in June 1987. The author is Professor of Theology at Georgetown University and an acclaimed Roman Catholic scholar.

Dr. Fellwig describes the role of the theologian as "myth-maker," "fool," "comforter," "builder," "archivist," "critic," "archeologist," and "ghost." Each one of these roles are important for the theologian, but no single one of these roles is the whole of the theologian's role in today's Roman Catholic Church.

As president of the CTSA she begins with the question "Who is Truly a Catholic Theologian?" The author states that today's Roman Catholic Church "reduces the role of theologians in the Church to that of a severely restricted type of catechist — one who repeats the finished formulae . . ." (p. 5). She urges theologians to become critically aware of their role "within both the academic and the ecclesial context" (p. 8).

In the role of the "myth-maker" it is important to understand the linguistic aspect of theology. The theologian has the responsibility to uphold the "fidelity" of the gospel and the tradition. The theologian as the "court jester" challenges the prejudices and weak assumptions.

In the pastoral role of "comforter" the theologian is the one who reconciles opposites into creative relationships.

The theologian is a "builder" through credibility and intelligibility of the faith.

The theologian as archivist has the responsibility to preserve, transmit and guard the "catholic"-rich tradition for future generations.

The theologian as critic has the responsibility to remain faithful to the gospel and to maintain the critical function

of the theologian keeping the balance with all the other functions.

The theologian as archaeologist treats the past with fidelity to the community. Hellwig urges that discoveries aided by social science must be acknowledged and findings accepted with humility and intellectual honesty.

And finally, the role of the theologian as a ghost is the most successful one as being invisible because the ideas have been assimilated and are no longer credited to a particular person.

In general, Dr. Hellwig is critical in her approach and courageous in her articulation. She speaks on the issue of the *magisterium* that demands absolute fidelity to the Catholic hierarchy often at the expense of fidelity to the gospel. Even though it is addressed to a particular community of theologians, it can benefit everyone who chooses to reflect on his or her own tradition and role in the Church.

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The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR. By Frank E. Sysyn. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, n.d. Pp. 16 (unnumbered). Paper.

Ukrainian Churches Under Soviet Rule: Two Case Studies. By Bohdan R. Bociurkiw. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984. Pp. 72. Paper.

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Frank Sysyn's *The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR* briefly but efficiently reviews the historical background of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Russia that resulted in the annexation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the Russian Church in the seventeenth century, and the Russian hierarchy's opposition to the restoration of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the twentieth. Bohdan Bociurkiw's *Ukrainian Churches Under Soviet Rule* is a reprint of his two articles "The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 1920-1930: A Study in Religious Modernization" from Dennis Dunn, ed., *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Colorado, 1977) and "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine: A Case Study in Soviet Church Policy" from *Canadian Slavonic Papers* VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). The first article describes the story of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs), the lay dominated councils (*radys*), and the all-Ukrainian sobor of October 1921 that made a radical canonical break from Orthodox tradition and alienated the UAPTs from all other Orthodox churches, and resulted in its liquidation by the Soviets in January 1930. Soviet political policy was certainly involved, as was Soviet hostility to any "refined" or "modernized" religion. "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine" article tells the story of the liquidation and conversion of the Ukrainian Uniates, the impact of Russian nationalism on the thinking of Soviet leaders, and the role of Russian Orthodoxy on Russian and Ukrainian nationalism, leading to the "Reunion Sobor" of L'viv in March of 1946 and resulting in the "reintegration" of the Ukrainian Catholics into an indivisible "tsarist" Russian Orthodox Church.

George Y. Shevelov's *Two Orthodox Ukrainian Churchmen of the Early Eighteenth Century* contains two articles "On Teofan Prokopovič as writer and Preacher in His Kiev Period," reprinted from *Harvard Slavic Studies* II (1954) and

"Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I," reprinted from *Slavonic and East European Review* (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1951). In the first, Shevelov demonstrates that Prokopovič, who was the leading ideological spokesman for the newly created Russian Empire, had been a proponent of the idea of Kiev as the second Jerusalem and as the city of Andrew the First-Called, and of the power of Vladimir. Shevelov concludes that "Prokopovič is transformed into an ideologist of state power using Christianity as its instrument" (p. 223). In "Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I" Shevelov shows Yavorsky as the best representative of the Ukrainian party," which can be described as "europeanising conservative." John-Paul Kimka's *The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia* gives us reprints of the author's "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building, 1772-1918" from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VIII, No. 3/4 and "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900" from *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXI, No. 1 (Ottawa: Carleton University). The first essay discusses: (1) the Church and the Habsburgs; (2) the Church and education; (3) the Church's role in shaping national identity; (4) the place of churchmen and Church institutions in the Ukrainian national movement; (5) the Church and the peasantry. The general conclusion is that "The Greek Catholic Church had done the most to accelerate the maturation of the Galician Ukrainians into nationhood" (p. 452). The article "Priests and Peasants" stresses the role the clergy played in the Ukrainian national movement in Austria and argues that we can use it as a case study of progression from clericalism to secularization in national movements. In Ukrainian Galicia "the validity of the potential antagonism between priest and peasant depends on the social and economic position of the religious leader in the community" and constitutes "the model most suited to the sociologically simple societies of eastern Europe, those of the so-called non-historic or plebian peoples" (p. 14).

Certainly the Ukrainian Millenium booklet series provides the reader with expert and highly readable sources for understanding and appreciating the Ukrainian situation in particular. It also demonstrates clearly the interplay between religious and secular forces and the tragic results of the conflicting claims of nationalism and the churches, of politics and religion. These publications also provide intimate and revealing glimpses of Orthodox-Catholic relations in complex geographical regions and crucial historical periods.

John E. Rexine
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Orthodox Perspectives on Pastoral Praxis. By Theodore Stylianopoulos (ed.) Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988. Pp. 202. Paper \$10.00.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and Hellenic College is being marked by the publication of three volumes of papers delivered at a number of commemorative conferences held on the campus of these institutions in Brookline, MA. The first of these volumes, edited by the Very Rev. Dr. Theodore Stylianopoulos, is the present collection of essays on pastoral subjects ranging from the role of women in the Orthodox Church to monasticism and its role in the contemporary Church. These essays are provocative and, though unequal in quality, all of great interest to the Orthodox scholar and believer alike. The volume is, as usual, handsomely bound by the Holy Cross Orthodox Press and adorned with a magnificent mosaic icon of the washing of the feet of the Apostles by Christ — an apt image for a collection of writings on pastoral matters.

I will not consider every essay in this collection, not only because, as I have noted, they vary in quality, but also because I cannot give justice to many of the issues raised in these

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the Millenium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine is only a part of this great effort.

Frank Sysyn's *The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR* briefly but efficiently reviews the historical background of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Russia that resulted in the annexation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the Russian Church in the seventeenth century, and the Russian hierarchy's opposition to the restoration of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the twentieth. Bohdan Bociurkiw's *Ukrainian Churches Under Soviet Rule* is a reprint of his two articles "The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 1920-1930: A Study in Religious Modernization" from Dennis Dunn, ed., *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Colorado, 1977) and "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine: A Case Study in Soviet Church Policy" from *Canadian Slavonic Papers* VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). The first article describes the story of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs), the lay dominated councils (*radys*), and the all-Ukrainian sobor of October 1921 that made a radical canonical break from Orthodox tradition and alienated the UAPTs from all other Orthodox churches, and resulted in its liquidation by the Soviets in January 1930. Soviet political policy was certainly involved, as was Soviet hostility to any "refined" or "modernized" religion. "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine" article tells the story of the liquidation and conversion of the Ukrainian Uniates, the impact of Russian nationalism on the thinking of Soviet leaders, and the role of Russian Orthodoxy on Russian and Ukrainian nationalism, leading to the "Reunion Sobor" of L'viv in March of 1946 and resulting in the "reintegration" of the Ukrainian Catholics into an indivisible "tsarist" Russian Orthodox Church.

George Y. Shevelov's *Two Orthodox Ukrainian Churchmen of the Early Eighteenth Century* contains two articles "On Teofan Prokopovič as writer and Preacher in His Kiev Period," reprinted from *Harvard Slavic Studies* II (1954) and

"Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I," reprinted from *Slavonic and East European Review* (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1951). In the first, Shevelov demonstrates that Prokopovič, who was the leading ideological spokesman for the newly created Russian Empire, had been a proponent of the idea of Kiev as the second Jerusalem and as the city of Andrew the First-Called, and of the power of Vladimir. Shevelov concludes that "Prokopovič is transformed into an ideologist of state power using Christianity as its instrument" (p. 223). In "Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I" Shevelov shows Yavorsky as the best representative of the Ukrainian party," which can be described as "europeanising conservative." John-Paul Kimka's *The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia* gives us reprints of the author's "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building, 1772-1918" from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VIII, No. 3/4 and "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900" from *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXI, No. 1 (Ottawa: Carleton University). The first essay discusses: (1) the Church and the Habsburgs; (2) the Church and education; (3) the Church's role in shaping national identity; (4) the place of churchmen and Church institutions in the Ukrainian national movement; (5) the Church and the peasantry. The general conclusion is that "The Greek Catholic Church had done the most to accelerate the maturation of the Galician Ukrainians into nationhood" (p. 452). The article "Priests and Peasants" stresses the role the clergy played in the Ukrainian national movement in Austria and argues that we can use it as a case study of progression from clericalism to secularization in national movements. In Ukrainian Galicia "the validity of the potential antagonism between priest and peasant depends on the social and economic position of the religious leader in the community" and constitutes "the model most suited to the sociologically simple societies of eastern Europe, those of the so-called non-historic or plebian peoples" (p. 14).

Certainly the Ukrainian Millenium booklet series provides the reader with expert and highly readable sources for understanding and appreciating the Ukrainian situation in particular. It also demonstrates clearly the interplay between religious and secular forces and the tragic results of the conflicting claims of nationalism and the churches, of politics and religion. These publications also provide intimate and revealing glimpses of Orthodox-Catholic relations in complex geographical regions and crucial historical periods.

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Orthodox Perspectives on Pastoral Praxis. By Theodore Stylianopoulos (ed.) Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988. Pp. 202. Paper \$10.00.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and Hellenic College is being marked by the publication of three volumes of papers delivered at a number of commemorative conferences held on the campus of these institutions in Brookline, MA. The first of these volumes, edited by the Very Rev. Dr. Theodore Stylianopoulos, is the present collection of essays on pastoral subjects ranging from the role of women in the Orthodox Church to monasticism and its role in the contemporary Church. These essays are provocative and, though unequal in quality, all of great interest to the Orthodox scholar and believer alike. The volume is, as usual, handsomely bound by the Holy Cross Orthodox Press and adorned with a magnificent mosaic icon of the washing of the feet of the Apostles by Christ — an apt image for a collection of writings on pastoral matters.

I will not consider every essay in this collection, not only because, as I have noted, they vary in quality, but also because I cannot give justice to many of the issues raised in these

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